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OF THE
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VOL. LIV.

PART I. (HISTORY, ANTIQUITIES, &c.)

(Nos. I to IV.—1885 : with 7 plates.)

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“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted ; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.” SIR WM. JONES.

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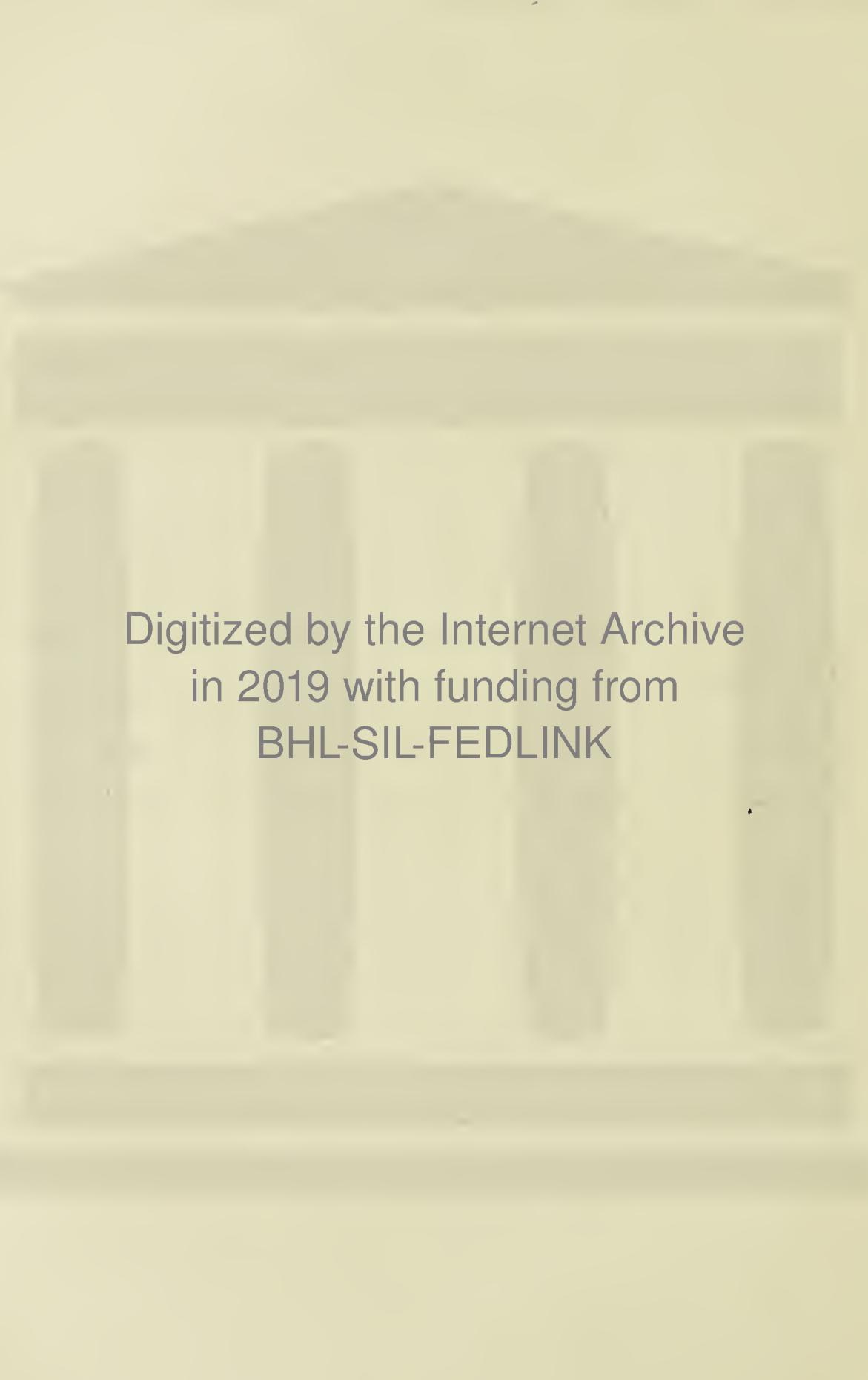
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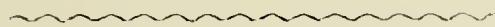
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LIST OF ERRATA

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JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, VOL. LIV, PART I,
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Page 85, line 11, *for* unical *read* miscall.

„ 85, „ 16, „ form „ from.
„ 86, „ 21, „ anthem „ emblem.
„ 87, „ 16, „ observation „ obscuration.
„ 88, „ 31, „ more „ Mao.
„ 22, „ 9, „ सौर में असी „ सिर में असि.
„ 28, note* „ on „ in.

The plates of the Silver Coins of the Sultáns of Kashmír should be numbered III, IV, V, instead of I, II, III.

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No. I.—1885.

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Part I.—By E. T. ATKINSON, B. A., F. R. G. S., B. C. S.,

(Concluded from page 103, No. 1 of 1884.)

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

The ceremonies to be observed at funerals are found in the *Pretamanjari*, the authority on this subject which obtains in Kumaon. This work opens with the direction that when a person is *in extremis* his purohita should cause him to repeat the hymn to Vásudeva and the *smarana* in which the names of Ráma and Síva occur, and after these make the *daśadána* or bestowal of ten things in accordance with the *sútra**:—‘The learned have said that cattle, land, sesamum, gold, clarified butter, apparel, rice, molasses, silver and salt are included in the ten gifts.’ In bestowing the *daśadána*, the sick man or in his stead the purohita first rinses his mouth and consecrates the *argha* and then repeats the *práṇáyáma* as already described. The meditation or *dhyána* appropriate is that known as the *Sripárameśvarasmṛita* or meditation on the Supreme being as distinguished from and above his particular manifestations as Síva and Vishṇu. This is followed by the *sankalpa* or dedication of the gifts with the same mantra as used in the *Ganeśa-pújá* (*Om Vishṇu*, &c.), ending with the prayers that there may be a removal

* *Go-bhú-tila-hiranyájya-vásodhánya-gudáni cha raupyam lavanam ity áhur daśadánáni pañditáḥ.*

of all sins committed wittingly or unwittingly by the dying man during his life-time and that he may obtain the fruit of his good acts. For this purpose on the part of the moribund each of the gifts and the Bráhmans concerned are reverenced, and the gifts are then presented.

Kapilá-dána.—First the *kapiládána* or a gift of a cow of a yellowish-brown colour with the five *mantras** beginning with:—*Idam vishṇur vichakrame tredhá nidadhe padam samúdham asya pám sure* and in practice this alone is recited. Then the *argha* is presented to the Bráhman with a *mantra*† praying him as best of men to be present at the sacrifice and accept the *argha*. Then sandal-wood is given with a *mantra*‡ and rice with another *mantra*.§ Flowers are then presented with the *mantra* :—‘Glory to thee, O Bráhman.’ Next the cow should receive veneration with the appropriate *mantra* :—‘Glory to thee O Kapilá,’ and each of its members, the fore-feet, mouth, horns, shoulder, back, hind-feet and tail with a salutation and the gift of sandal, rice and flowers. A covering is then presented with food, incense, light, and the installation hymn :—*Yá Lakshmíḥ sarvvalokánám*, &c. Then the moribund takes sesamum, *kuśa*-grass, barley, and gold in a pot of clarified butter and with them the cow’s tail in his hand over which water is poured, and all are dedicated to the removal of the guilt of his sins and for this purpose are given to so and so Bráhman in the name of Rudra. The cow is first addressed, however, with the *mantra* :—*Kapile sarvva-varṇánám*, &c. The cow and Bráhman then circumambulate the moribund, who with clasped hands repeats a verse|| in praise of the cow.

Bhúmi-dána.—Next comes the *Bhúmi-dána* or gift of land. The installation hymn (*prárthana*) beginning :—*Sarvvabhútáśrayá bhúmiḥ*, &c., is first addressed to the earth. Then a ball of clay is made from the soil of the land which is intended to be given away and is worshipped and dedicated as in the previous gift and then after consecration, is given away for Vásudeva’s sake to the Bráhman. The *Tila-dána* or gift of sesamum follows with the *mantra* :—*Tiláḥ suvarṇa-samáyuktáḥ*, &c., and the usual consecration and dedication in the name of Vishṇu and the hymn of praise :—*Tiláḥ pápahará nityam*, &c.

* These mantras are practically unknown to the mass of the people who have much simpler ritual feebly on the same lines.

† *Bhúmidevágrajanmási twam viprapurushottamapratyaksho yajñā-purushaḥ argo’yaṁ pratigṛihyatám.*

‡ *Gandhadwárám durádharshám nityapushṭám karishiním isvarím sarvabhútánám tám ihopalvaye śriyam.*

§ *Namo brahmanyadeváya gobrúhmaṇahitáya cha jagaddhitáya Krishnáya Govindáya namonamah.*

|| *Om gávah surabhayo nityam gávo guggula-gandhikáḥ*, &c.

Next comes the *Hiranya-dána* or gift of gold with a mantra* :—and the usual dedication, &c., in the name of Agni. The *Ajyadána* or gift of clarified butter is next made with the mantra :—‘ Sprung from Kámadhenu, &c.,’ and the dedication in the name of Mṛityunjaya. The procedure is the same all through, the *mantras* used alone being different. For the *Vastra-dána* or gift of apparel we have the mantra :—‘ *Píta vástra, &c.*,’ and the dedication in the name of Vṛihaspati. The *Dhánya-dána* or gift of rice of seven kinds has the mantra :—‘ *Dhányam karoti dátáram, &c.*,’ and is presented in the name of Prajápati. The *Guradána* or gift of molasses has the mantra :—‘ *Guḍa manmathachápottha, &c.*,’ and is given in the name of Rudra. The *Raupya-dána* or gift of silver has the mantra :—‘ *Rudranetra-samudbhútam, &c.*,’ and is offered for the sake of Soma, the moon, with the prayer that any laxity in morals may be forgiven. The *Lavanya-dána* or gift of salt follows with the mantra :—‘ *Yasmád annarasáḥ sarve, &c.*,’ and is presented on behalf of all the gods.

Last service for the dying.—The moribund next presents the fruit of all the ceremonial observances that he has undertaken during his life to plead on his behalf with Iśvara. He also dedicates sesamum, *kuśa*, barley and water and enumerates all the penance that he has performed during his life and commits it with an oblation to the mercy-seat in the name of Agni to plead on his behalf. He then prays that for the sake of the good Vásudeva whatever errors he may have committed in ceremonial or other observances knowingly or in ignorance, in eating or drinking and in his conduct towards women or men may be forgiven, for which purpose he offers gold. A similar gift of a cow is sometimes made to clear off all debts due to friends and others, but the practice has fallen into disuse, as the heir, according to the usage of the British law-courts, must pay his father’s debts if sufficient assets fall into his hands.

Vaitaraní-dána.—Another cow should be presented in Govinda’s name to prevent the retribution due on account of evil acts of the body, evil speech in words and evil thoughts in the heart, and again another cow in the hope of final liberation (*moksha-dána*) through the loving-kindness of Rudra and in his name. As a rule, however, but one cow is given, and this only in the *Vaitaraní-dána* which now takes place. For this rite a cow of a black colour is selected and worshipped as prescribed in the *Kapilá-dána*, and the gift is dedicated to help the spirit of the moribund after death in its passage across the Vaitaraní river, and with this object it is formally delivered over to a Bráhman. The installation verse for

* *Hiranyagarbha-garbhastham hemabijam vibhávasoh, ananta-punyaphaladam atah sántim prayachchha me.*

the cow is—‘Glory to thee, O cow, be thou ready to assist at the very terrible door of Yama this person desirous to cross the Vaitaraní,’ and for the river in the verse :—“Approaching the awful entrance to the realms of Yama and the dreadful Vaitaraní, I desire to give this black cow to thee, O Vaitaraní, of my own free-will so that I may cross thy flood flowing with pus and blood, I give this black cow.” Selections from the *Bhagavad-gítá* are then read to the sick man and the thousand names of Vishṇu are recited. His feet and hands are bathed in water taken from the Ganges or some other sacred stream whilst the frontal mark is renewed and garlands of the sacred *tulsi* are thrown around his neck. The ground is plastered with cow-dung and the dying man is laid on it with his head to the north-east and if still able to understand, verses in praise of Vishṇu should be recited in a low, clear voice suited to the solemn occasion. The priestly instinct is even now alive and the family astrologer appears on the scene to claim another cow that the moribund may die easily and at an auspicious moment.

Preparing the body for the pyre.—When the breath has departed, the body of the deceased is washed with earth, water and the fruit of the *Emblica officinalis* and then anointed with clarified butter whilst the following mantra* is repeated :—“May the places of pilgrimage, Gayá and the rest, the holy summits of mountains, the sacred tract of Kurukshetra, the holy rivers Ganges, Jumná, Sárasvati, Kosí, Chandrabhágá which removeth the stains of all sins, the Nandábhadra the river of Benares, the Gandak and Sarju as well as the Bhairava and Váráha places of pilgrimage and the Pindar river, as many place of pilgrimage as there are in the world, as well as the four oceans, enter into this matter used for the ablution of this body for its purification.” The body is then adorned with *gopichandana*, the sacrificial thread, yellow clothes and garlands. Gold or clarified butter is then placed on the seven orifices of the face and the body is wrapped in a shroud and carried to the burning-ghát. The body is placed with its head to the east and the face upwards whilst the near male relatives are shaved. In the meantime *pindas* or small balls of barley-flour and water are offered according to the rule :—*Mṛitistháne tathá dwáre viśrámeshu chitopari; kukshau pindáḥ pradátavyáḥ pretapindáḥ prakírtitáḥ*—‘Where the man dies, at the door (of his village), where the bearers rest, at the pyre upon his body, these (five) *pindas* should be offered by rule ; these are

* *Gayádíni cha tírtháni ye cha puṇyáḥ śilochchayáḥ; kurukshetram cha gangá cha yamuná cha sarasvatí, kauśikí chandra-bhágá cha sarvapápapranásiní, nandá bhadrá cha káshi cha gaṇḍakí sarayú tathá, bhairavam̄ cha váráham̄ cha tírtham̄ pindarakam̄ tathá, prithivyám̄ yáni tírtháni chatwárah̄ ságarás tathá, sávasyásya viśuddhyartham̄ asmin toye viśantu vai.*

well known as the *preta-piṇḍa*. Each *piṇḍa* should have its proper dedication with definition of time, place, and person (*mṛitisthána*, *dwára*, &c.) First some water is thrown on the ground with a dedication, and then the *piṇḍa* is taken in the hand and after the recital of the dedication, it, too, is thrown on the ground and again water is sprinkled on the same place with a third dedication. This is repeated at each of the five places. The wood of sandal, cedar, *bel*, or *dhák*, mixed with ghí, are laid on the body, which is placed on the pyre with the head to the south. The son, or nearest male relative, bathes and dedicates the rite to the release of the soul of the deceased from the company and region of sprites and its exaltation to the heaven of the good, after which the *kukshi-piṇḍa* is offered.

Office for cremation.—The fire is next applied by the nearest male relative to the wood at the feet of the corpse, if the deceased be a female, and to the wood at the head, if a male, with the *mantra* :—“*Om* mayest thou arrive at the blissful abodes, thou with thy deeds whether done ill purposely or unwittingly hast become an inhabitant of another world, thy body encompassed with its load of desire and ignorance, weighted with its deeds of right and wrong has been completely resolved into its five elements.” Then comes the *Tilamiśra-ájyáhuti* or *homa* with sesamum mingled with clarified butter accompanied by the *mantra* :—*Om loma-bhyah sváhá, om twache sváhá, om lohitáya sváhá, om mámsebhyah sváhá, om medobhyah svaha, om tvagbhyah sváhá, om majjábhyah sváhá, om retase sváhá, om roditebhyah sváhá*.—‘Hail salutation to the hair, epidermis, blood, * * marrow, skin, the essential element of the body, the semen, and to him who is bewailed.’ Then follows the *sútra* directing the circumambulation of the pyre whilst sesamum* is sprinkled over the burning body with the *mantra* :—‘*Om*, glory to the fire of the funeral pyre.’ When the body has been almost entirely consumed, a small portion of the flesh, about the size of a pigeon’s egg, should be taken and tied up in a piece of cloth, and flung into a deep pool. Then the person who conducted the ceremony puts out the fire and bathes, anointing himself with the *pancha-gavya* and places a seat of *kuśa*-grass for the spirit of the deceased with a dedication followed by water, a *piṇḍa* and again water, each accompanied by its proper dedication.

Bali-dána.—Next the *bali-dána*, consisting of rice, sandal, &c., is offered to the goblins and sprites of the burning-ghát with the prayer that they will accept it, eat it and be appeased. Whoever wishes to preserve a portion of the bones, to cast them into the sacred stream of the

* The rich throw sandal, *tulsi*, sesamum and clarified butter on the pyre whilst the relatives cry out with a loud voice so as to attract the notice of the dweller in paradise.

Ganges at Hardwár (*phúl syavauna*), will collect them between his thumb and little finger and wash them in the *panchagavya* and clarified butter and placing them in a cloth bury them for a year before he attempts to carry out his purpose. All ceremonies performed for an ancestor must be carried through with the sacrificial thread over the right shoulder, all worship of the gods with the thread as usual over the left shoulder. The pyre is then cleaned and smeared with cow-dung whilst the dedication is made and water and a *pindā* are given followed by water as before. Then the *mantra* is recited:—*Anádinidhano deva śankha-chakra-gadádhara; akshayah puṇḍaríkáksha preta-moksha-prado bhava.*—An address to the deity praying for the liberation of the soul of the deceased. A Bráhman repeats the *mantra* with his face towards the south; a Kshatriya looking towards the north; a Vaiśya to the east and a Súdra to the west, whilst the knot of the hair on the top of the head is unloosed. The sacrificial thread is then replaced and the *áchamanas* made. The thread is again put on the right shoulder (*apasavya*) whilst water is offered in the hollow of both hands to the manes of the deceased. The person who performs the rites bathes again before returning home and fasts for the rest of the day.

Ceremonies after cremation.—Lamps are kept lighting for the benefit of the manes for ten days after cremation either in a temple or under a *pípal* tree or where the obsequial ceremonies are performed, according to the rule:—*Tiláḥ pradeyáḥ páníyam dipo deyah śiválaye, jñáti-bhīḥ saha bhoktavyam, etat pretasya durlabham.*—Sesamum, water and lights should be provided in a temple of Siva and meals should be taken with the relatives—for this has (now) become difficult to be obtained by a sprite. The place where the obsequial ceremonies (*kiriyá-karma*) subsequent to cremation take place is called the *gháṭ* or *bugra*. It is chosen, as a rule, near running water, but must not lie to the west of the house where the person for whom the rite is performed died. On the day following the cremation, the person who performed the principal part at the funeral pyre proceeds to the *gháṭ* and selecting a place, clears it and plasters it with mud and cow-dung. A fire-place is then built towards the northern part and on one side, an altar of white clay smeared with cow-dung. The lamp is next lighted with the dedication to enlightening the manes now in darkness so as to alleviate its sufferings. Then with top-knot unloosed the celebrant bathes on behalf of the manes with the usual definition, of place, time, person and object which is the performance of the ceremonies of the first day.

Tilatoyánjali.—Next the top-knot is tied up and the mouth is rinsed, after which he takes sesamum, water, *kusa*-grass and barley and with his face towards the south offers them in the palms of both hands on be-

half of the manes with the usual dedication. The object declared is to allay the extremes of heat and thirst which the spirit must undergo and to perform the rites of the first day on its behalf. The ceremony known as the *tilatoyánjali* must be performed either thrice or once each day for the next ten days. Then rice* is boiled in a copper vessel and in it sesamum, *nágakeśara* (*Mesua ferrea*), honey and milk are placed and afterwards made into balls about the size of a *bel* fruit; these are offered with a dedication in the name of the deceased and the object that the spirit should obtain liberation and reach the abodes of the blessed after crossing the hell called *Raurava* and also that the head of the new body of the spirit may be formed correctly. Before actually offering the *pindā*, the celebrant should stand in silence to the left of the fire-place, and place a *pavitra*† on the ground and on it a *karma-pátra* or sacrificial vessel and on the latter again a *pavitra*. The vessel should then be filled with water, sesamum and perfumes whilst the altar is covered with *kuśa*-grass. The celebrant next takes a *pavitra* and water in his hand and repeats the dedication as to laying the *kuśa* on the altar in the name of so and so deceased as a seat for his spirit. After this, water (*aváne-jana*) is poured on the altar with a similar dedication and then the *pindā* is offered whilst the celebrant drops on his left knee and repeats the dedication already given. As already noticed, the object of the *pindā* presented on the first day is to enable the spirit to cross the hell called *Raurava* and have a head for its new body. This is followed by an offering of water, one of very cold water, and one of sandal, rice, *bhinga-rája*‡ (*Eclipta prostrata*), flowers, incense, lamps and balls of rice and honey, each with its own proper dedication in the name of the manes. The thirteenth dedication is concerned with the consecration of the *karma-pátra* already mentioned. On the first day one *pindā* is offered: on the second, two *pindás*, &c., so that in ten days, fifty-five *pindás* are offered each with the same ceremony as here given. Then comes the prayer that the *pindás* already given may reach the manes, and the *karma-pátra* is turned upside down. The mouth is then rinsed with the usual formula and all the materials are thrown into the water with the *mantra* :§ —‘Thou hast been burned in the fire of the pyre and hast become separate from thy brethren, bathe in this water and drink this milk thou

* Kshatriyas and all other than Bráhmans make the *pindás* of barley-flour and also the illegitimate children of Bráhmans.

† See before.

‡ In Kumaon the *Cinnamomum Tamala* or *tejpát* is used.

§ *Chitánala, pradagdho'si parityakto'si bándhavaiḥ; idam níram idam kshíram atra snáhi idam piba; díkásastho nirálambo vágubhútah samárditaḥ, atra snátvá idam pítvá snátvá pítvá sukhí bhava.*

that dwellest in the ether without stay or support, troubled by storms and malignant spirits, bathe and drink here and having done so be happy.'

To the south of the fire-place a small earthen vessel known as a *karuwá* is filled with water in which *kuśa*, sesamum, barley and milk are placed and suspended from a tree, or if there be no tree, from a stake fixed in the ground with a tooth-brush of *ním* (*Melia indica*). Then bathing and putting on clean clothes, the celebrant returns home and when eating puts a portion of the food on a leaf-platter and leaves it with water either where four roads meet or on that side of the village which is nearest to the burning-ghát, both places being the favourite resorts of disembodied spirits. This portion called the *preta-grása* or spirits' mouthful is offered with the usual dedication to the name of the deceased.

Ceremonies of the first ten days.—The proceedings of each day are the same, the only difference being the object of the *pindá*. The following list of the hells crossed before reaching paradise and the different parts of the new body of the spirit affected by each day's ceremony will suffice:—

Day.		*Hell met with.		Portions of the new body formed.
First	...	Raurava	...	Head.
Second	...	Yonipuṇṣaka	...	Eyes, ears and nose.
Third	...	Maháaurava	...	Arms, chest, neck and members of the mouth.
.	.			
Fourth	...	Támisra	...	Pubic region, penis, void and parts around.
Fifth	...	Andhatámisra	...	Thighs and legs.
Sixth	...	Sambhrama	...	Feet and toes.
Seventh	...	Amedhya-krimi-púrṇa	...	Bones, marrow and brain.
Eighth	...	Purisha bhakṣaṇa	...	Nails and hair.
Ninth	...	Svaináṃsa bhakṣaṇa	...	Testes and semen.
Tenth	...	Kumbhípáka	...	To avoid the wants of the senses.

Tenth day.—The new body having been formed the natural wants of a living body are presupposed and the ceremony of the tenth day is devoted to removing the sensation of hunger, thirst, &c., from the new body. On the same day the clothes of the celebrant are steeped in cow's urine with soapnuts and washed, the walls of the house are plastered, all metal vessels are thoroughly cleaned, the fire-place at the ghát is broken and an *anjali* of water is offered to the ether for the sake of the manes and to assuage its thirst. The celebrant then moves up the stream above the ghát and with his near relatives shaves and bathes and all present an *anjali* of water as before. Bathing again all proceed homewards,† having been sprinkled with the *pancha-gavya*. The follow-

* Most of the names of hell occur in the law-books or the Puráṇas. The first, third, fourth and fifth in *Manu*, IV. 88: the tenth in the *Bhágavata-puráṇa*, and the remainder in the *Skanda-puráṇa*.

† It is the custom to offer one more *pindá* on the road homewards called the *pátheyaśráddha*, but this is usually made of uncooked flour and water.

ing rule lays down the period necessary for purification :—*Bráhmaṇo daśarátreṇa dvádaśáhena bhúmipah ; vaiśyah panchadaśáhena śúdro másena śudhyati.* “The Bráhman becomes pure in ten days, the Kshatriya in twelve days, the Vaiśya in fifteen days and the Sudra in a month”.

Ceremonies of the eleventh day.—After the usual domestic prayers, on the eleventh day the figures of Lakshmí and Náráyaṇa are worshipped and a covering spread for them on the chárpaí of the deceased and a cow offered in his name as *kapilá-dána*. Next vessels of water (*Udaka-kumbha*) are filled and food prepared in the name of the deceased. A bullock is also branded on the flanks with the trident and discus and struck three times with the hand and then let go,* followed by the *ekádaśáha śráddha*. The palm of the hand represents three *tírthas* : the *Brahma-tírtha* is the hollow at the wrist through which the rinsing of the mouth is effected ; the *Deva-tírtha* is between the fingers sloping downwards and is used in offering water to the gods, and the *Pitri-tírtha* is the hollow between the thumb and first finger through which the water flows when offered to ancestors. For instance, in the worship of Lakshmi-Náráyaṇa, the water is presented through the *Deva-tírtha*. First the covering is placed on the chárpaí and on it the images with a dedication to the sure admission into paradise of the manes, and for this purpose the figures of the deities Lakshmí and Náráyaṇa are worshipped. The installation hymn to the deities then follows and offerings of rice, water, sandal, flowers, incense, lamps and wearing apparel are made. To this succeeds the *dhyána* or meditation in honour of Vishṇu, who has in his right hand the lotus, in his left the conch, &c. ; then come appropriate gifts, according to the ability of the donor, which eventually become the property of a Bráhman with the prayer that as S'iva and Kṛishṇa live in happiness and comfort, so may the deceased abide, and for this purpose all these good things have been provided. The *purohita* then lies down on the couch for a short time and so sanctifies the gifts that have been made whilst the verse is read :—*Yasya smṛityá cha námoktyá tapoyajnakriyádihu nyúnām sampúrṇatáñ yáti sadyo vande tam achyutam.*—‘That Achyuta through whose remembrance and invocation the shortcomings of my religious observances are supplemented, Him do I now adore.’

Gifts of a cow.—Next comes the *kapilá-dána* as before with the dedication :—‘O Kapilá worshipped of all the four castes, best, containing all places of pilgrimages and deities alleviate my trouble.’ The water vessels are next presented and there should be one for every day in the year and each should be accompanied by food and lights for the same period for the benefit of the spirit of the deceased† and then given

* As a rule, however, this is a mere form and the irons are not heated.

† As a rule the poor can only afford one.

to Bráhmans with the verse :—‘*Yasya, &c.*’ as in the preceding paragraph.

The scape-bullock.—The loosing of the scape-bullock (*vrishotsarga*) is seldom observed in Kumaon, though the ritual for it is given. First an altar is erected of earth and the fire is lighted thereon and Agni is installed and worshipped. The altar is then dedicated to the rite of the *pradhána-homa*. This homa is begun by throwing clarified butter into the fire with the mantra :—*Om iha ratis sváhá idam agnaye, om iha ramadhvam sváhá idam agnaye, om iha dhritis sváhá idam agnaye, om svadhritis sváhá idam agnaye, om iha ramasva sváhá idam agnaye*; and again *Om prajápataye, indráya, agnaye, somáya sváhá*. Next curdled milk is thrown on the fire and the eight gods are saluted :—Agni, Rudra, Sarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Iśána, Bhava, and Mahádeva, all old names. Then comes the *Paushnacharu-homa* or oblation of rice barley and pulse boiled in milk and clarified butter and presented with the mantra :—*Om púshágá anvetu naḥ púshá rakshasva sarvataḥ, púshá vaján sanotu naḥ sváhá*; and again *Om agnaye svishṭakrite sváhá, om bhú sváhá, om bhuvah sváhá, om svah sváhá*. In these mantras the ancient deities Púshan and Agni are invoked. A bell is then suspended from the neck of the bullock and small bells are tied round its feet, and it is told that it is to be let go in order to save the spirit of the deceased from the torments of hell. The following mantra is then whispered in its ear :—*Vishṇur hi bhagaván dharmah chatushpádah prakírtitah, vriñomi tam aham bhaktyá sa mám rakshatu sarvadá*. Then follows the verse :—‘*Om ritam cha, &c.*’ as in the *sandhyá*. The bullock is addressed as the fourfooted representative of the Supreme and asked to preserve for ever his votary. The *bail-gáyatrí* is then recited :—*Om tíkshṇaśringáya vidmahe vedapáśáya dhí mahi tan no vrishabhaḥ prachodayát*. Sesamum, *kuśa*, barley and water are taken in the hand and also the bullock’s tail, whilst water is poured over all with the mantra :*—‘To fathers, mothers and relations both by the mother’s and father’s side, to the *purohita*, wife’s relations and those who have died without rites and who have not had the subsequent obsequial ceremonies performed, may salvation arise by means of the unloosing of this bullock.’ The bullock will then be loosed with a dedication. The right quarter is sometimes branded with a trident and the left with a discus and the animal becomes the property of some of the low-caste people in the village.

Ekádaśáha-śráddha.—The *ekádaśáha-śráddha* commences with a bath-

* *Om svadhá pitribhyo mátribhyo bandhubhyas cha triptaye, mátripakshás cha ye kechit ye kechit pitripakshajáḥ, guruśvaśurabandhúnám ye chánye kulasambhaváḥ, ye pretabhávam ápannáḥ ye chánye śráddhavarjitáḥ vrishotsargena te sarve labhantám triptim uttamám.*

ing and dedication to the first *śráddha* in honour of the deceased. Hitherto only the ceremonies known as *kiriya-karma* have been performed whilst the spirit of the deceased remained a *preta*, but now in order that he may be numbered amongst the *pitrīs* or ancestors, the formal *śráddha* is undertaken in his honour and for his benefit. Dry, clean clothes are worn and the celebrant proceeds to the *ghát* and rinses his mouth with the usual formula. Then rice is cooked and five small bundles of *kuśa* are washed and anointed with oil and set up to represent the Bráhman on the part of the deceased with the *nimantrana* or invitation :—*Gato'si divyaloke tvam kritántavihitát pathah, manasá váyubhútena vipre tváham nimantraye*—you have departed to be away having your way prepared by the god of death with a mind turned into wind. I would invite you. Similar bundles are consecrated to represent the spirit of the deceased and water and the *argha* are offered with the prayer that they may be accepted. In silence the *karmapátra* is placed on the ground and offerings of sandal, &c., made as before.* The dedication is then made for the purpose of performing the ceremony as if it were the *ekoddishṭa-śráddha*.† For this purpose a seat is placed and the *argha* is consecrated and dedicated to the spirit of the deceased. Gifts are then presented to both the symbolised Bráhman and *preta* and both are reverenced. A brazen platter is then smeared with clarified butter and the rice placed on it and dedicated to the acceptance of the spirit. A circular altar a span in diameter is next made and smeared with cow-dung. Rice is also mixed with milk, sesamum, clarified butter, and honey and made into round balls about the size of a *bel* fruit and with *kuśa*, sesamum and water are taken in the hand and dedicated to the first *śráddha*. The altar is covered with *kuśa* and on it a single *pindā* is placed, then water, sandal, rice, flowers, incense, lamps, sweetmeats and woollen thread are each presented with a dedication as offerings to the spirit of the deceased. The bundles of *kuśa* which represent the Bráhman are then addressed and told that the preceding offerings have been made to the *preta* and to grant that they may be accepted and for this purpose water is offered to him. Gifts are then made to the symbolised Bráhman which are kept until the next day, as gifts made during the first eleven days cannot be accepted by a *purohita*. The water in the *karm-pátra* is then poured out at the feet of the Bráhman and the *janeo* is changed to the left shoulder. This is followed

* See previous page.

† The *ekoddishṭa* or *tithi-śráddha* is that performed on the anniversary of a father's death, whilst the general ceremony which takes place during the dark half of Kuár is called the *párvan* or *kanyágata-śráddha*. If the father dies during this part of Kuár the ceremony is called *Kshayáha-śráddha*. In the *párvan* the usual fifty-five *pindas* are offered; in the *ekoddishṭa* only one.

by the usual rinsing of the mouth, after which the verse commencing :—‘ *Yasya, &c.*’ is recited.

Ceremony of the twelfth day.—On the twelfth day the ceremony known as *Sapindi* takes place. The celebrant goes to the *ghát* as before and commences with bathing and dedication to the day’s rite. He then makes three altars of the same dimensions as before : to the north, a square altar called the *Viśvadeva-bedi* : to the south, a triangular altar called *Preta-bedi*, and to the east a circular altar called the *Pitámahádi-bedi*. Rice is then cooked and whilst it is being made ready, two Bráhmans are formed from *kuśa*-grass and placed at the northern altar as in the preceding ceremony with a formal invitation, during which barley is sprinkled over them whilst they are asked to take part in the *sapindi*. The following verse is then repeated :—*Akrodhanaiḥ sauchaparaiḥ satatam brahmacháribhiḥ, bhavitavyam bhavadbhiś cha mayá cha śráddhakáriṇá, sarváyása-vinirmuktaiḥ kámakrodhavivarjitaḥ*. Then the southern altar is approached and there the bundles of *kuśa* representing the deceased are placed. These are addressed as above with the verse—‘ *Gato’si, &c.*’ to which is added the line :—*Pújayishyámi bhogena devavipram nimantraye*. Then follows the changing of the sacrificial thread to the left shoulder and purification by rinsing the mouth before approaching the eastern altar. This is consecrated to the ancestors of the deceased for three generations in the male line, all of whom are named and represented by blades of *kuśa*-grass. If a mother is the subject of the ceremony the names of the father’s mother, grandfather’s mother, &c., are given here. Next the wife’s ancestors for three generations in the male line are invited and some one accepts on behalf of all and their feet are washed with the mantra :—‘ *Akrodhanaiḥ, &c.*’ This also takes place at the other two altars and is followed by the celebrant taking the *pavitra* or knot of *kuśa* and sticking it into the folds of his waist-cloth (*nívibandhana*). Each of the altars in order are again visited and a dedication is made to the *kuśa* representatives at each with the *argha*, seat, invitation, sandal, rice, flowers, incense, lights, apparel, betel and a stone on which the rice is placed for making the *pindas*. The placing the stone and rice at the northern altar has the special mantra :—*Om agnaye kavyaváhanáya sváhá idam agnaye, om somáya pitrímate svadhá idam somáya*. At the southern altar the celebrant merely mentions the name of the deceased and that for him the food has been prepared, and at the eastern altar the stone and food are dedicated to the *pitrí*s who are named as before. The remaining rice is placed on another stone and mixed with honey, clarified butter and sesamum is divided into four *pindas*. A small portion of rice is then taken with a blade of *kuśa* in the right hand and the hand is closed over the rice whilst this verse is recited :—*Asamśkrita*

pramítáuáṁ tyágínáṁ kulabhágínáṁ uchchhishta-bhágadheyánáṁ darbhe-shu vikirásanam. It is then cast on the ground near the *pindas* and is called the *bikira-dán*.

Then kneeling on the left knee with *janeo* reversed a *pinda* is taken with *kuśa*, sesamum and water in the name of the father of the deceased with the prayer that the earth here may be holy as Gya, the water like that of the Ganges, and the *pinda* be like *amrita*, and is placed on the altar. Similarly a *pinda* is taken and dedicated to the grandfather and great-grandfather of the deceased respectively. The last is dedicated to the spirit of the deceased that he may cease to be a disembodied spirit and become enrolled amongst the ancestors. Next follows the usual gifts with dedication. The celebrant next divides the *pinda* of the deceased into three parts with a golden skewer and attaches one part to each of the *pindas* of the ancestors with the mantra :—*Ye samánáḥ samanasaḥ pitaro yamarájye, teshám lokaḥ svadhá namo deveshu kalpatám, ye samánáḥ samanaso jívá jíveshu mámakáḥ, teshám śrír mayi kalpatám asmin loke śatam samáḥ.* The spirit thus becomes an ancestor and ousts his great-grandfather in the line of the *párvana*. Water is then presented and the *pavitra* is thrown away; rice is next sprinkled over the three *pindas* with the mantra :—*Om namo vah pitaro rasáya namo vah pitaro jíváya namo vah pitaro sukháya namo vah pitaraḥ pitaro namo vo griháṇa pitaro dattam sado vah pitaro pitaro vásah.* The same mantra is repeated whilst laying three threads on the *pindas* to represent their *janeos*. Next water, sesamum and *kuśa* are presented with a dedication. Milk is then poured through the hand over the *pindas* whilst the preceding *mantra* is repeated. All now march round the altar whilst the celebrant recites the *mantra* :—*A'mávájasya prasavo jagamyám deve dyáváprithiví viśvarúpe ámá gantám pitaramátará chárñá somo amritatve jagamyám.* Then the celebrant gives himself the *tilaka* with the *mantra* :—*Om pitribhyah svadhá ebhyah svadhá namah pitámahebhyah svadhá ebhyah svadhá namah prapitámahebhyah svadhá ebhyah svadhá namah aksháṇa pitaro mímadanta pitaro 'títripanta pitaraḥ pitaraḥ sundadhvam.* Next the *ásis* or benediction occurs in which with hands clasped the celebrant prays for the increase in prosperity of his family, their defence in time of trouble, &c. The *pinda* of the father is then removed from the altar and in its place the figures of a conch, discus, &c., are drawn with sandal and on them a lighted lamp is placed and saluted whilst rice is sprinkled over it. The *mantra* used is :—*Om vasantáya namah, om grishmáya namah, om varshábhyo namah, om śarade namah, om hemantáya namah, om śíśiráya namah*—forming an address to the seasons. The *pinda* is then restored to its place on the altar and the bundle of *kuśa* which represents the Bráhmans at the northern altar is opened out and one stalk is thrown

towards the heavens whilst saying :—‘Praise to the ancestors in paradise.’ Then follows the verses :—“*Sapta vyádhá daśárneshu*,” &c., as in the termination of the *Nándi-śráddha*, after which the materials for the ceremony are removed and gifts again made to Bráhmans. Next the celebrant proceeds to a *pípal* tree, or if no such tree be near a branch is brought from a tree and a dedication is made in the name of Vishṇu of three hundred and sixty vessels of water which is poured over the tree and then the tree is tied round with thread three times and whilst moving round, the following *mantra* is repeated :—“Glory to thee O king of trees whose root is like Brahmá, trunk Vishṇu and top like S’iva.” The ceremony concludes with the usual gifts and dedication.

Monthly ceremony.—On every monthly return of the date on which a father dies a single *pínda* is offered to his manes as before with a vessel of water to the *pípal* tree. This continues for eleven months and in the twelfth month the *Hárshika-śráddha* takes place which is in all respects the same as the *Ekoddishṭá-śráddha* already described. The *Náráyāna-bali* is offered when a father dies in a strange land and his relatives cannot find his body to perform the usual rites. A figure of the deceased is made of the reed *kans*, and placed on a funeral pyre and burned with the dedication that the deceased may not be without the benefit of funeral rites. Then the *kalaśa* is consecrated and the forms of Brahmá, Vishṇu, S’iva and Yama stamped on pieces of metal are placed on the covering of the *kalaśa* and are worshipped with the *Purusha-súkta* *mantra* from the Rig-veda (*Man.* 10, 90). Then sixteen *homas* and ten *píndas* are offered with the usual dedication and the latter are thrown into the water. Sixteen offerings of water from both hands (*anjali*) conclude the ceremony. A separate ritual is prescribed for a woman dying whilst in her courses or dying in child-birth. The body is anointed with the *pancha-gavya* and sprinkled with water whilst the *mantra*—‘*Apohishṭa*, &c.,’ is recited. The body is then taken and a small quantity of fire placed on the chest after which it is either buried or thrown into flowing water. For eight days nothing is done, but on the ninth day, forty-five *píndas* are given and the ceremonies of the remaining three days as already described are carried through if the people can afford it. There is also a separate ritual for persons who have joined a celibate fraternity as a *Jogi*, *Gosáin*, &c. His staff and clothes are placed on the chárpái as in the case of an ordinary person and the *arka-viváha* or marriage with the plant *madár* takes place, after which a *pínda* is offered in his name. *Fakírs*, lepers and women who die in child-birth are buried in Kumaon. It is believed that if any one dies during the *Dhanishṭhá*, *Satabhishá*, *Púrvabhádá*, *Uttarabhádá* or *Revatí* *nakshatras* or lunar-mansions, four others of his family will certainly die, and for the avoidance of this evil a *sánti* or preventive

service is prescribed which must be held by the relatives and be accompanied by numerous gifts.

Bhojana-karma.—The observances connected with the preparation and cooking of food are classed amongst the domestic ceremonies and are known as *Balivaisvadeva*. After the food has been cooked and before it is eaten, the person takes a small portion of it in his right hand and offers it as a *homa* on the fire whilst repeating the mantra* :—*Om* salutation to Agni, the vital air *prána*; *om* salutation to Váyu, the vital air *apána*; *om* salutation to Aditya, the vital air *vyána*; salutation to the same three deities, the same three vital airs; salutation to him who is fire produced from water, juicy nectar, Brahmá, &c. The *gáyatrí*-mantra† with the addition of the term *sváhá* after each section is then repeated as often as the person wishes. The *homa* or burnt-offering can only be made where the person can procure some clarified butter, where it cannot be obtained the *homa* must be omitted. Water is then taken in the hand and poured on the ground whilst the mantra‡ is repeated :—‘If whoever eats remembers that Brahmá, Vishnu and S’iva are present in the food impurity cannot accrue from eating.’ Where the water has fallen four small portions§ of the food are thrown one after the other with the following mantra :—‘*Om*, glory to the lord of the earth; *om*, glory to the lord of created things; *om*, glory, glory to the lord of sprites; *om*, glory to all beings.’ Water is again taken in the hand whilst a mystical *mantra*|| is recited. The water is then drank. Next about a mouthful of the food is taken in the hand and thrown away as the portion of dogs, low-caste persons, deceased,

* *Om bhúr agnaye práñáya sváhá om bhúvar vágave apánáya sváhá om svar ádityáya vyánáya sváhá om bhúr bhuvaḥ svah agniváyvádityebhyah práñápánavyánebhyah sváhá om ápo jyoti raso’ mritam brahma bhúr bhuvaḥ svah om sarvan, vai púrṇam sváhá.* Here the three kinds of vital airs are mentioned: *prána*, that which issues from the lungs; *apána*, from the anus and *vyána* that which circulates through the body. The usual number is, however, five and hereafter we have added, *samána*, that which is common to the whole body, and *udána*, that which rises through the throat to the head. *Sváhá* has the meaning probably of a good oblation or offering, and is here used with the mystical *vyáhṛiti* mantra.

† See previous page.

‡ The learned use the mantra:—*Om nábhya asid antariksham śírshno dyauḥ samavarttata padbhyám bhúmir diśaḥ śrotrát tathá lokán akalpayan.* The verse translated above is, however, far more common and runs:—*Annam brahmá raso vishnuḥ bhoktá devo maheśvaraḥ evam dhyátvá dvijo bhunkte annadosho na díyate.* The ordinary cultivator seldom uses more than the three last words—‘*annadosho na díyate*’

§ *Om bhúpataye namah om bhúvanapataye namah om bhútánám pataye namah om sarvebhyo bhútebhyo balaye namah.*

|| *Om antaścharasi bhúteshu guháyám visvatomukhaḥ tvam yajñah tvam vashat-kárah ápo jyoti raso’ mritam sváhá.* The word *vashat* is an exclamation used in making oblations and *vashatkára* is the making it.

crows and ants.* The correct custom is to make one offering for each of these six classes whilst repeating the mantra, but in practice a very small portion is placed on the ground with the ejaculation :—‘*Om*, glory to Vishṇu.’ The food is then eaten whilst with the first five mouthfuls (*páncha-grási*) the following mantra is recited mentally :—*Om*, salutation to the five kinds of vital air, *viz.*, *práṇa*, *apáṇa*, *samáṇa*, *vyáṇa* and *udáṇa*.’ Then a little water is poured over the *bali* with the mantra :—*Om* salutation to the *bali*,’ and at the end of the meal the same is repeated with the verse† : ‘May the giver of the meal have long-life and the eater thereof ever be happy.’‡

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*The battle of Kanarpí Ghát, edited and translated by SÍRÍ NÁRÁYAN SINGH, and G. A. GRIERSON.*

#### INTRODUCTION.

The following poem, written by a Maithil Bráhman at the end of the last century, in the Baiswári dialect, is perhaps the most popular of its kind in Tirhut. A copy of it in MS. can be obtained in almost any large village in Darbhanga. Owing, however, to the complexity of some of the metres, they are generally very corrupt. Bábú Sírí Náráyan Singh, of Jogyárá, has joined me in endeavouring to prepare a translation and fairly correct edition of the text.

The poem describes a victory won by Narendra Singh, an ancestor of the present Maháráj of Darbhanga over Rám Náráyan Bhúp, the well-known Súbá of Bihár.§ The following is the genealogy of the present Maháráj :

|   |                                                     |
|---|-----------------------------------------------------|
|   | Maháráj Narendra Singh.                             |
| „ | Pratáp Singh.                                       |
| „ | Rághab Singh.                                       |
| „ | Mádhab Singh.                                       |
| „ | Chhatra Singh.                                      |
| „ | Malieśwar Singh.                                    |
| „ | Lakshmíśwar Singh, the present holder of the title. |

The Baksí or Bakhshí mentioned in Dohá 5, line 9, and Dohá 19, l. 1, was Gokul Náth Jhá, of Dhangá, Haripúr, Pargana Jarail, in the

\* *Sunám cha patitánám cha śvapachám páparoginám, váyasánám krimíṇám cha sahatair nirvapet bhuvah.*

† *Annadátá chiranjíví annabhuktá sadá sukhí.*

‡ [The reading of some of the mantras was too corrupt to admit of thorough correction.—ED.]

§ See note to verse 1 of the translation.

Darbhanga District. His great-grandson Márkáñde Jhá, is the Bakhshí to the present Maháráj, as follows :

Gokul Náth Jhá.  
Sáoe Jhá.  
Mohan Lál Jhá.  
Márkáñde Jhá.

The Sarb Ján Jhá mentioned in Chhand 6, l. 7, was a famous prophet, who knew everything. A story of him is told that his servant once accidentally threw away his Narbadeśwar (an image of Sívá). Shortly afterwards Sarb Ján missed it, and declared that it had been eaten up by one of his ducks. All the ducks were brought before him, and he picked out one, which was killed. In its crop was found the missing image.

The poem is full of names of persons and places of whom and which little or nothing is at present known.

Narendra Singh is the most celebrated. Of him the poet Chandra Jhá, says in his Maithil Rámáyan,

निपति नरेन्द्र सिंह भेल जखन ।  
अरि घर कानन पंसरल तखन ॥  
ताकि ताकि सत्रुक सङ्घार ।  
कैलन्हि बज्जत क्वात्र व्यवहार ॥  
कतज्ज जुद्धि नहि रेलाह हारि ।  
अतिसय तेज तनिक तरुचारि ॥

‘When Narendra Singh became king, weeping filled his enemies’ houses. He searched for and became a destroyer of his foes, and performed many chivalrous actions. Nowhere did he lose a battle, and his sword was very sharp.’

The other names recorded will, if they can be identified, be useful to students of history of the last century.

The author of the poem, Lál Jhá, a bráhman, lived in Mangrauní Pargana Hátí, Darbhanga District. His great-grandson is now alive in the same village. The family still owns the village of Kanail which was given to the poet by Narendra Singh.

The metres employed in the poem are the Dohá (Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 23, and 25), the Bhujangaprayát (Nos. 2, 6, 11, 17, 19, 21, and 24), the Narách (Nos. 4, 15, and 22), the Tribhangí (Nos. 8 and 13), and the Pádákulak (No. 9).

The Dohá is well-known, and need not be described at length. The following Prákrit lines describe it, and are current in Mithilá :

तेरह मत्रा पठम पइ, पुण एगाइह देह ।  
पुण तेरह एगारहहि, देहा लक्खण एह ॥

‘Put thirteen instants in the first half-stanza, and eleven in the second, then again thirteen and eleven, and this is the description of the dohá.’ The above is itself an example of the metre.

The Bhujangaprayát, which closely corresponds to the Hansagati Chhand described in Kellogg’s prosody, p. 22, consists of four Bacchics (  $\cup - -$  ), called यगण or य in Indian prosody. The rule current concerning this metre is भजङ्गप्रयात भवेद्यैच्चतुभिः.

The Narách consists of eight Iambics (  $\cup -$  ), अज्ज or लग in Indian prosody. The following Prákrit verses are examples of the metre, and at the same time give the rule for its formation.

लहू गुरु निरंतरा, प्रमाण अटु अक्खरा ।  
प्रमाण दूण किञ्जिए, णरात सेा भणिञ्जिए ॥

‘A Pramáṇiká verse consists of eight syllables, a long and a short one alternately. Double the Pramáṇiká and it becomes the Narách.’

The Tribhangí Chhand consists of 32 instants, divided into  $10 + 8 + 8 + 6$  instants. It is described in Kellogg’s prosody, p. 23. Each line must end with a long syllable. The following Prákrit example gives the rule :

पठमं दह रहणं अटुवि रहणं पुण वसु रहणं रस रहणं ।  
अंते गुरु सोहइ चिञ्जअण मोहइ सिद्धि सरोहै बर तरुणं ॥  
जइ पलइ पयोहरु किमिअ मणोहरु हणइ तहाँ णायक्तु गुणी ।  
तिरिभंगी क्षमं सुक्खाणं दं भणइ फणिंदा बिमल मई ॥

‘First stop on the tenth instant, then on the eighth, then again on the eighth and on the sixth. The last letter of the line must be long. The wise Phañíndra says that this verse if in proper form enchanters the three worlds, accomplishes the objects of full grown youths, and creates happiness. But if it is not so, it is like a damsel with pendulous bosom, annoying to her lord.’

The Pádákulak consists of 64 instants, divided into four quarter-verses of  $6 + 4 + 4 + 2$  instants each. The last syllables of the second and fourth quarters must be long. G. A. G.

# अथ कनरपी घाट लड़ाइ ।

॥ १ ॥ दोहा ।

राम नरायन भूप तें कह्यौ सुखालिफ जाय ।  
 हाकिम को मिथिलेश ने दीन्हो अदल उठाय ॥  
 सीर करो तिरहति को ता के रची उपाय ।  
 फौजदार महथा भए सङ्ग सलाबति राय ॥  
 बखत सिंह कुल उद्धरन रोड़ मल्ल दिल पूर ।  
 चौभान भानु भानु सुकुल एक एक तें सूर ॥  
 याही सभ तेनाथ करि फौजे पाँच हजार ।  
 दिग्सुल सन्मुख जोगिनी महथा उतरे पार ॥ १ ॥

॥ २ ॥ छन्द भुजङ्गप्रयात ।

चले फौज नाजिम को बाजत नगारे ।  
 सभे खुल गए तोपखाने सकारे ॥  
 घटा गज के ऊपर सोँ गाजत निशानैँ ।  
 जजायिल धमका लसैँ चन्द्रबानैँ ॥  
 अही धर मही कोल दिक्पाल कम्पैँ ।  
 उड़े गई अम्बर भरे सूर भन्मैँ ॥  
 दमामा नफीरी ओ कर्नाल बोलैँ ।  
 बड़े दलदले रे सभे दीप डोलैँ ॥  
 खड़ते खड़े खूब खामिन के आगैँ ।  
 बड़े रङ्ग तें जङ्ग के जोर पागैँ ॥  
 बड़े मोद ले खुल गए द्वार आवैँ ।  
 जो पक्खर लिए शेख सैचाद सबारे ॥  
 जो आगे कङ्डीबान के दल बिराजैँ ।  
 बरच्छा के क्षाहे किए रङ्ग साजैँ ॥  
 चलो जो शिताबी लगी दूर जाना ।  
 लदे साथ कङ्काड़ मैँ केते खजाना ॥

बड़ो दाप तें कूच दर कूच आबैं ।  
 कहेँ सान को नाहि मधवान पाबैं ॥  
 समैं तो पटी बान्हि कम्मर जड़ावा ।  
 पुक्के राह में दूर केते भवाड़ा ॥ २ ॥

### ॥ ३ ॥ देहा ।

खबरदार ने खबरि करि निप सैं कह्यउ बुभाय ।  
 पाँच हजार सबार लै महथा पङ्क्के आय ॥  
 निपति बोलाए ज्योतखी कीजै कोटि बिचार  
 इहाँ तो लड़ना है नहीं बड़ो बलान के पार ॥  
 भूप मसूरति सकल करि बाहिर बैठे आय ।  
 कीजे फौज तयार तू कह्यौ नकीब बोलाय ॥ ३ ॥

### ॥ ४ ॥ छन्द नराच ।

कह्यौ नकीब धाय धाय फौज बीच जाय कै ।  
 तयार हो बहादुरो सभे सिलाह लाय कै ॥  
 तयार होन को लगे जमातिदार गज्जदू ।  
 दसो दिसा अनोर सोर घोर बम्ब बज्जदू ॥  
 कह्यौ कमान बान सान भाँति भाँति देखिए ।  
 निदान मैं मैदान बीच भीम से बिसेखिए ॥  
 चले महा बली तयार होय भौन भौन सें ।  
 तुरङ्ग क्षेड क्षाड़ में तुलै न पौन गौन तें ॥ ४ ॥

### ॥ ५ ॥ देहा ।

खारिआत दै सभनि को करि के बिबिध बिलास ।  
 चलै सिपाह महा बली मिथिला प्रति के पास ॥  
 द्वारपाल भूपाल तैं अर्ज कियो हैं जाय ।  
 द्वालबन्द तैयार कै हाजिर पङ्क्के आय ॥  
 एक एक करि मोजरा सभ को लीन्ह सलाम ।  
 लाल महा कबि बैठि गौ तहाँ जहाँ सुख धाम ॥  
 दच्छिन बैठे निपति को बाबू जौर दिमान ।  
 उत्तर ओम्हा बैठि गौ साथ लिए मतिमान ॥

पश्चिम सकल सिपाह गन बकसी बैठे पास ।  
 बने बनाए देखिए पीछे खास खबास ॥  
 रैनि दिवस हाजिर रहै रतन रतन सो जान ।  
 मातसदी तलिका करै तोफा बान कमान ॥  
 बैठे सभ के बीच मैं महाराज नरइन्द्र ।  
 सोभा बरनो जात नहिँ ज्यों तारन मैं चन्द्र ॥ ५ ॥

## ॥ ६ ॥ छन्द भुजङ्गप्रयात ।

सुपरिडित कहूँ पच्छ रच्छा सम्भारैँ ।  
 कहूँ चारू बैदिक पढ़े बेद सारैँ ॥  
 कहूँ ज्योतखी सो घड़ी नेक साधैँ ।  
 कहूँ आगमी यन्त्र के मन्त्र लाधैँ ॥  
 कबीश्वर लगें सौ कड़ाखा बनावैँ ।  
 कहूँ भाँट बैठे कवियें सुनावैँ ॥  
 कहूँ सर्व जानै कहूँ सर्व जाने ।  
 कहूँ कोख साहिय हँ को बखाने ॥  
 कहूँ मोलना सैं करैँ बैत बातैँ ।  
 कहूँ मानसी पारसी रङ्ग रातैँ ॥  
 कहूँ बलभी सो दही द्वार लावैँ ।  
 लिए गागरी नागरी रङ्ग लावैँ ॥ ६ ॥

## ॥ ७ ॥ देहा ।

राज सभा रजपूत गन बरनत हैं कवि लाल ।  
 बैठे निप चज्ज और सैं लिए ढाल तलबाल ॥ ७ ॥

## ॥ ८ ॥ छन्द चिभङ्गी ।

राउत रजपूतैँ सभैँ सपूतैँ लखि पुरहँते सबल डरैँ ।  
 सुर बैस बुनेला बीर चनेला लसैँ बघेला खड़ग धरैँ ॥  
 चौमान बिसेना सबर सेना रायठौर दल बीर भरैँ ।  
 हाड़ा कक्षबाहा लाय सिलाहा हा हा करि कैँ भूकि परैँ ॥  
 दब्बे अरिदमा जाति निकुम्मा औ गन्हवरिचा सूर भला ।  
 सँगर परिबाहा हैहरबाहा हैहयबनसी भीम भला ॥

गैतम बिजहरिआ औ सरबरिआ रघुबन्सी नरनाह कला ।  
 गैड़ा बछगेती सुजस सुमेती गहड़वार निज साजि दला ॥  
 सिरमोरक कन्दा कौसिक चन्दा बड़गैआँ करचोउलिआ ।  
 जो सगरबार सरदार सिपाही गोड़ अमैठी चौघरिआ ॥  
 तोमर गहनौता गुजर समेता रानाबन्सी सिधौठिआ ।  
 मौनस बिजहरिआ निप नगपुरिआ बड़ महरौड़ी सतौड़िआ ॥ ८ ॥

## ॥ ९ ॥ छन्द पादाकुलक ।

करम्बार पम्मार कठेला कटहरिआ सुरनेक सिपाही ।  
 तेंह लाल महा कबि जान महा छबि अरि गन सीर में असी बाही ॥ ९ ॥

## ॥ १० ॥ होहा ।

तुङ्ग तुरङ्गम तरल गति प्रबल जङ्ग में जेर ।  
 लै लै आबत खोलि कै गहैं बाग को डोर ॥ १० ॥

## ॥ ११ ॥ छन्द भुजङ्गप्रयात ।

तुरकी अरबी इराकी सु कच्छी ।  
 दरायी खन्दारी जिरें मीन लच्छी ॥  
 चलै तेज ताजी सुजङ्गस पिठानी ।  
 करै चारु बाजी कहाँ लौ बखानी ॥  
 भलो चारु कम्बोज अम्बू बनाई ।  
 मनो थार पारा धरै चच्चलाई ॥  
 तुरङ्गा सुरङ्गा लसै मीन रङ्गा ।  
 पिलङ्गा सबै सों महा नील रङ्गा ॥  
 जरहा मुसुकी समुन्दा छबीला ।  
 हराबोज सबजा ओ लीला ओ तीला ॥  
 सुरक्खाऽवलक्खा मनो बायु सक्खा ।  
 सु उच्चैस्खवा को दले दर्प देखा ॥  
 खड़े पञ्च कल्यान कल्यान कारी ।  
 कपोतच्छबी ज्यों चितेरे समारी ॥  
 हजारै हजारै लगे हेम तारै ।  
 चुनी से जड़ी जीन पट्टा समारै ॥ ११ ॥

## ॥ १२ ॥ द्वाहा ।

सभैं सिपाह सलाम करि चाहौ तुरङ्गम खास ।  
 किल्जाह्न तैं मिसि लगी कमला जी के पास ॥  
 क्षेमङ्गरिनि निहारि नभ भौ विकसित सुख चन्द्र ।  
 लम्बोदर बिल्लिस कहि बहराए नरइन्द्र ॥  
 मच्छ पुच्छ के तिलक करि पैन्ह कुसुम के माल ।  
 कै प्रनाम बिल्लिस कै बहराने भूपाल ॥ १२ ॥

## ॥ १३ ॥ छन्द चिभङ्गी ।

सुर पुर के राजा सङ्कहि भाजा भेरु समाजा जाय परै ।  
 तहाँ करत बड़ाइ दुर्गा माई लेज बचाई अधिक डरै ॥  
 को गनति महोसा रङ्गाधीसा लावैं सीसा सुनि ठहरै ।  
 धूली के दप्पे दिनकर भप्पे मेदनि कम्मैं को ठहरै ॥  
 बीजापुर बङ्गा औध सुरङ्गा जित निप सङ्गा जोग भरै ।  
 झगली कलकत्ता निपतनि सत्ता तेजहि लत्ता फिरति फिरै ॥  
 दच्छिन नर नाहा तेजि सिलाहा भेजहि बाहा को ठहरै ।  
 उक्का के रानी फिरहिं देवानी ओ मकमानी निप हहरै ॥  
 डिल्ली सगबगी कासी भगी बेतिआ टगी को ठहरै ।  
 दीनन सभ के गति डरत सकल अति मैथिल भूपति को बहरै ॥ १३ ॥

## ॥ १४ ॥ द्वाहा ।

किल्जाह्न तैं कूच करि कर मैं गहे कमान ।  
 महाराज डेरा दियो हरिना के मैदान ॥ १४ ॥

## ॥ १५ ॥ छन्द नराच ।

बड़ी बड़ी बनात की कनात जाहि राउटी ।  
 तहाँ तहाँ जमाहिरे जड़ाउ लाल तैं जटी ॥  
 लगे लगे हजार हेम तार कोर सो भरै ।  
 कह्व कह्व बितान आसमान ल्यो रहै खरै ॥  
 कह्व अनेक रूप की बिचित्र पालकी पड़ी ।  
 कह्व हजार के सिलाह और लालकी धरी ॥  
 कह्व तुरङ्ग और मतङ्ग सोंधरे हजारहीं ।  
 कह्व कनान और बेस बान बेसुमारहीं ॥

कहँ अनेक दुन्दुभी मिदङ्ग रङ्ग रङ्ग के ।  
कहँ सिपाह तुङ्गदार जेतवार जङ्ग के ॥ १५ ॥

## ॥ १६ ॥ देहा ।

उरदू न्विप मिथिलेस को बरनत हैं कबि लाल ।  
अमर नगर तें चौगुनौ लागत अधिक बिसाल ॥ १६ ॥

## ॥ १७ ॥ छन्द भुजङ्गप्रयात ।

फुहाड़ा गड़े ओ बने चारु हट्टा ।  
हजारी बेपारी चलै बान्हि ठट्टा ॥  
घनेरे जहाँ जाचि के जाचि आबैं ।  
नयी अङ्गना सेा बनी गीत गाबैं ॥  
कहँ कन्द चीनी बिकै नोन गट्टा ।  
कि जाके चखे तें सुधा हेत खट्टा ॥  
कहँ तें बतासा बनै ओ मिठाई ।  
कहँ आनि मेबा धरे हैं बनाई ॥  
कहँ मीसरी ओ जिलेबी पके हैं ।  
करैं मोल जोलै बहतो खड़े हैं ॥  
कहँ सकरे ओ बिकै गूँड़ चक्की ।  
कहँ तैं सोहारी धरी धीउ पक्की ॥  
जबाड़ा सरोही कहँ तेग बिकै ।  
कहँ जोहरे मोहरे देत सिकै ॥  
कहँ तोसखाने लगी भीर भारी ।  
तुरङ्गे बिकै लच्छ कच्छी खन्हारी ॥  
कहँ मत्त मातङ्ग ऊँटे घनेरा ।  
कहँ चित्र लेखत खड़े हैं चितेरा ॥  
कहँ दाख लाखैं कहँ हैं कोहाड़ा ।  
कहँ हैज मैं बेस कूटत फोहाड़ा ॥  
कहँ बादला साल बाफी दोसाला ।  
कहँ लाल मोती बिकैं करठ माला ॥  
कहँ बाफदा धान खासा पोसाकी ।  
कहँ नाहि जाने कोऊ मोल जा की ॥ १७ ॥

## ॥ १८ ॥ होहा ।

रामपटी तैं कूच करि पड़ै अचानक जाय ।  
तब डङ्गा भूपति सुन्धो नाजिम पञ्च चै आय ॥ १८ ॥

## ॥ १९ ॥ छन्द भुजङ्गप्रयात ।

दोऊ ओर फौजें भयी हैं तयारी ।  
तहाँ बीच दरम्यान दरिच्चाओ भारी ॥  
चलै बान कम्मान गोला हजारे ।  
सभै एक हो के गिरै जो सितारे ॥  
कड़ीबान कूटै गजर के घड़ी सी ।  
क्की आसमानो लगी फुलमड़ी सी ॥  
पञ्च च के बहेलिए ने गोली सैं मारी ।  
हटी जाय पीछे लटी फौज सारी ॥  
जो बाइल पड़ै सो चढ़नु जाय खाटै ।  
कहाँ कोउ आओन सके नाहि बाटै ॥ १९ ॥

## ॥ २० ॥ होहा ।

बकसी सै भूपति कह्यौ चढ़ि देखो मैदान ।  
रहै सभै होसिआर सैं करि है दगा निदान ॥  
जाफर खाँ को साथ करि दूजै हाला राय ।  
डङ्गा दै बकसी चलै चढ़ि खेत पर जाय ॥  
महथा पेच खेलाय के काझ देखायो बाट ।  
चढ़ी सवारी पार कै गङ्गादुआर के घाट ॥  
थाबा करि के आए गौ बिशुपूर है टोल ।  
हलकारे न्विप सैं कह्यौ भयौ मोहब्बिल गोल ॥  
आए दोउ महा बली मित्रजीत उमराओ ।  
भूपति को परनाम करि दियौ रिकेबनि पाँचो ॥ २० ॥

## ॥ २१ ॥ छन्द भुजङ्गप्रयात ।

चलै बैस बग्धेल बहौत हाड़ा ।  
लिए हाथ के बीच तेगा जड़ावा ॥  
बनै सूर के सूर हाड़ा बिराजै ।  
चहू ओर सैं दुन्दुभी जोर बाजै ॥

चलै बान कम्मान गोला हजारै ।  
 बहादुर दोऊ बाग को नाहि फेरै ॥  
 कदम दर कदम तें पड़ी फौज जाई ।  
 महा अप्तमी को लगी है लड़ाई ॥  
 दमामा नफीरी घने सङ्क बाजे ।  
 अनोरे पड़ी राम चङ्के अवाजे ॥  
 उठाई सलाबति ने घोड़े के बागे ।  
 भए सिंह उमराओ आड़े हो आगे ॥  
 बहादुर दोऊ को कहाँ ल्यो बड़ाई ।  
 पड़ी कर्न पारथ के ऐसी लड़ाई ॥  
 निकलि खाप तें खूब तेगा चली है ।  
 महा घन घटा दामिनी जो भयी है ॥  
 जखम खाय पीछे भए हैं नचारा ।  
 पकड़ि कैं सलाबति को नीचे दै मारा ॥  
 चलै धाय कैं देखि आगे भिखारी ।  
 पञ्च तो सके नाहि हैं दे को मारी ॥  
 लगी आनि गोली गिरै बीर बङ्गा ।  
 भरी सी पुरन्दर पुरी जाय सङ्का ॥  
 चह ओर जा की छकी कीर्ति जाई ।  
 लिएं फूल माला परी पास आई ॥  
 बड़ो बीर साथी हजारै हजारै ।  
 सभै छाड़ि घोड़ा भयो हैं उतारै ॥ २१ ॥

## ॥ २२ ॥ छन्द नराच ।

पड़े उठाय धाय धाय एक एक सैं लड़े ।  
 मनो गजेन्द्र से गजेन्द्र जङ्ग जोर को धरै ॥  
 महीप मिचजीत राओ बखत सिंह को धरै ।  
 चखा चखी चपेट चोट लोट पोट कै गिरै ॥  
 सनासनी घनाघनी सुनी न जात तीर के ।  
 पड़े जो खूब रङ्ग रङ्ग जङ्ग जो अमीर के ॥  
 जमातिदार और चोट को करै निरन्तरा ।  
 पड़े कमान बान सैं मही अकास अन्तरा ॥

सुन्यो बिपच्छ पच्छ लच्छ धीरता तबै गयी ।  
 धड़ा धड़ी हजार बार तोप की जबै भयी ॥  
 उठे अनोर घोर सोर ढाल की चटा चटी ।  
 जहाँ तहाँ चहूँ दिसा क्रिपान की खटा खटी ॥  
 भला भला हला करै लड़ै जो बीर कोप सै ।  
 बदा बदी गिरै जो मुण्ड कोटि कोटि धोप तै ॥  
 कटै कबन्ध भूमि घूमि घोर भाउरी भरै ।  
 हहा गिराय के हलाल केज्ज काज्ज को करै ॥  
 सुमुण्ड कञ्ज रक्त पानि ओ सोमार केस के ।  
 नदी बही जहाँ तहाँ मैदान मीथिलेस के ॥  
 भयो फतेह बैरि जाल को निदान भोगिनी ।  
 गयी अधारु खाय खाय गण्ड मुण्ड जोगिनी ॥  
 असेख मुण्ड माल जाल कालिका ले आउती ।  
 कराल भूत साथ भूतनाथ को पेन्हाउती ॥  
 सबे फिरै मैदान क्वाड़ि फौजदार भागि गै ।  
 भयो फतेह भूप को सुकीर्ति बम्ब बाजि गै ॥ २२ ॥

## ॥ २३ ॥ द्वाहा ।

रुन फतेह भौ भूप को फौजदार गौ भागि ।  
 चौगुन कै तिरहूति को कीर्ति उठी है जागि ॥  
 क्वाड़ि हाकिम जानि कै फक्त भिखारी एक ।  
 राखि लियौ जगदम्ब ने महाराज के टेक ॥ २३ ॥

## ॥ २४ ॥ छन्द भुजङ्गप्रयात ।

जो पीकै लगे हैं सभै राओ राने ।  
 लुटै तोसखाने नगारे निसाने ॥  
 कहूँ पालकी लालकी कोटि हीरा ।  
 लुटै तोसदाने भरै खास बीरा ॥  
 ओ तम्बू कनातै लुटै ऊट गाड़ी ।  
 लुटे हैं कहूँ केज्ज काहूँ पिक्काड़ी ॥  
 बरच्छी धमाका लुटे साँगि नेजा ।  
 गथे हैं कहूँ केज्ज काहूँ करेजा ॥

कहूँ बाजि हाथी लुटै बैस धाईं ।  
हराज जू को फिरी हैं दोहाईं ॥ २४ ॥

॥ २५ ॥ दोहा ।

लूटि कूटि लौधो सभनि लिधुर लपेटे अङ्ग ।  
जाल सुकबि प्रह भाँति भै समर भिखारी भङ्ग ॥ २५ ॥

इति ॥

TRANSLATION.

1. *Dohá.*

To Rám Naráyan Bhúp\* came an enemy (of Narendra Singh) and said, 'the Lord of Mithilá has cast aside the rule of government.' So he arranged to take Tirhut under direct management, and Mahthá was appointed general in company with Salábati Ráy. There were, also, Bakht Singh, the liberator of his family, courageous Roṛ Mall, who was the sun among the Chaubháns, and Bhánu Sukul, each a greater hero than the other. Such men were taken into service, and Mahthá with five thousand men at arms crossed the river when *diksul* and *joginí†* were in front of him.

2. *Chhand Bhujangaprayát.*

The governor's army proceeded, and the kettle-drums beat. All the artillery was brought out at daybreak. Over the black coloured elephants flapped the flags, and long muskets, elephant-cannons and *chandrabáns‡* shone. S'esha, the mountains, the earth, the mundane boar and the elephants of the quarters shook from the trampling, and the dust arose and filled the sky and covered the sun. Drums, trumpets and trombones sounded, and the whole earth quivered, and each continent

\* The well-known Súbah of Bihár, who flourished during the last century. He was drowned by Mír Kásim on A. D. 1773.

† An inauspicious planetary conjunction. *Diksul* is a day on which it is inauspicious to go in a certain direction; such as Friday and Sunday for West, and Saturday and Monday for East. Compare the proverb दाहिन जोगिन पौछे काल, धर फाड़े मुद्रे का गाल, if one starts when *joginí* is to his right and *kál* behind him, he will seize his enemy by the throat and kill him.

‡ Different kinds of ancient guns.

shook. The sword-bearers as they stood before their masters were joyful, as their vigour for battle came to a head. With great pleasure the gate opened, and there issued forth Shekhs and Saiyads who took horse-armour and rode. In front gleamed the wand-bearers, feeling happy under the shadow of their spears. ‘Speed on, we have far to go, and vast treasure is loaded in the carts.’ They marched with great valour from one halt to another, Indra himself could not match their magnificence. They had all waist-bands set with jewels, and on the way inquired the road to Bhawáṛá.\*

### 3. *Dohá.*

The news-bearers informed and told the king (of Tirhut) that Mahthá had arrived with five thousand cavalry. The king sent for his astrologers, and asked them to calculate, and (after hearing their decision) determined not to engage in battle there (at Bhawáṛá), but on the other side of the great Balán.† When he had settled all this, he came out and sat down, sent for the heralds and told them to have all the army in readiness.

### 4. *Chhand Narách.*

The heralds went into the midst of the army and running hither and thither proclaimed, ‘be ready, brave men, and take up your arms.’ They commenced making themselves ready, as the captains thundered out their joy. On all sides was heard a continuous noise, and a terrible uproar uprose. Everywhere were displayed bows, arrows and javelins of various kinds. In one’s judgment it appeared as if each soldier in the midst of the field was superior to Bhíma. The mighty warriors got ready and issued from their houses, and their horses excelled the wind itself in speed.

### 5. *Dohá.*

The mighty warriors distributed alms to all, and after enjoying various pleasures proceeded to the (palace of the) king of Mithilá. The warder at the gate approached and told him saying ‘the belted soldiers are all ready and present.’ One by one they paid their respects to him, which he accepted. Lál, the great poet, says that they sat round the

\* A village close to Madhubaní in the Darbhangá district, a former seat of the Darbhangá Ráj.

† There are in Darbhangá two rivers called Balán, *viz.* the Barí- or great-Balán and the Bhutiyá- or ghost-Balán. The former enters British territory from the Himálaya at Laukahá and runs north and south about thirty miles east of Madhubaní. The latter lies more to the east, and never has the same bed two years running, continually disappearing from one place and reappearing elsewhere,—hence its name.

A bode of Happiness. To his south sat the Bábús\* and the Prime minister, to his north the wizards and the wise men, to his west the soldiers, and near him the Bakhshí† and the chief house-servants in gorgeous apparel stood behind him. The chief of the exchequer who attended day and night, and who knew about all jewels, was making a list of excellent‡ bows and arrows. Maháráj Narendra sat in the midst of all. Who can describe the splendour of one who was like the moon in the midst of stars ?

#### 6. *Chhand Bhujangaprayát.*

In one place a pandit was supporting his views in discussion, in another the skilled Baidiks were singing the essence of the Vedas. In another astronomers were correcting the time-piece, in another Tántriks were reading charms and exorcisms, in another great poets were composing hundreds of martial songs, in another panegyrists recited epics, in another Sarb Ján Jhá§ was dictating as if he knew everything, in another people explained dictionaries and rhetoric, in another they discussed Persian verses with learned Maulwís, in another Munshís sat elated with Persian knowledge, in another dairy-maids brought tyre to the gate, and in another fair damsels with water jars added to the pleasures.

#### 7. *Dohá.*

The poet Lál describes the various Rajpúts who were in the royal assembly, who sat round the king armed with swords and shields.

#### 8. *Chhand Tribhangí.*

Ráuts and Rajpúts, all worthy sons, seeing whose valour even Indra with his army was put to fear, warlike Baish, Bandelá, heroic Chandelá and Baghelá|| armed with swords were conspicuous, Chaubhán Bisená who formed the strong portion¶ of the army, and Ráyঠhaur, who filled the troops with heroes. Hárá and Kachhbáhá came with their weapons, men who cried 'Há, Há' and fell upon the enemy, Dabbai, Aridambhá, Nikumbhá, and Ganhwariyá the great heroes, Sēgar, Paribáhá, Haiharbáhá, and Haihaybansí, the terrible champions, Gautam, Bij'hariyá, Sarbariyá, and Raghubansí, the perfect princes, Gaurá,

\* In Mithilá this word is a high title of honour, reserved to relations of the Darbhanga Maháráj.

† See introduction.

‡ तोफा = تھا

§ See introduction.

|| These are all names of Rajpút tribes.

¶ सब्बर is for सबल m. c.

Bachhgötí of fame as pure as beauteous pearls, and Gaharwár, each with his own followers, Sirmorak, Kandá, the moon of the Kausik family, Baṛgaiyā', and Karchoáliyá, Sagarbár the chief of warriors, Gor, Amaiṭhí and Chaughariyá, Tomar, Gahnautá and Gujar, Ránabansí and Sidhautiyá, Maunas, Bij'hariyá, the king of Nágpur, the great Mahraurí and Satauriyá,

#### 9. *Chhand Pádákulak.*

Karambár, Pammár, Kathelá, Kat'hariyá, and the warrior Surnek. Lál the great poet knows the great grandeur of the warriors who were accustomed to wield swords upon their enemies' heads.

#### 10. *Dohá.*

Horses, tall, swift in speed, and mighty in the fierce battle-field,—these they untied, caught hold of their reins and brought out.

#### 11. *Chhand Bhujangaprayát.*

Turkish, Arab, Irákí, and excellent Kachchhí; sea horses and the Kanhári which excelled the Lachchhí fish in speed. None can describe the graceful paces of the swift Tází, Mujannas, and Piṭhání, excellent, graceful steeds of Kamboj, as mobile as water, and fleet as quicksilver in a metal dish. The horses shone of various colours,—there were chestnut ones, and fish-coloured ones, light yellows, and very dark blues, tawny yellows, dark blacks, and handsome browns, iron-greys, greys, blues and blacks, bays and whites which were companions of the wind in speed, and broke down the pride of Indra's horse Uchchaissravá. Horses blazed on the five lucky places,\* stood as if they themselves were giving luck. Some were of the colour of pigeons, and seemed as if they had been coloured by painters. The saddles and bridles were embroidered with thousands of varieties of gold wire and diamonds.

#### 12. *Dohá.*

Each warrior saluted and mounted his own horse. From the fort to the Kamlá† they formed a dense crowd. King Narendra saw an auspicious kite‡ in the sky, and his moonlike face flashed. He uttered the auspicious names Lambodar and Bighnes§ and sallied forth. He fastened on his forehead a fish's tail, and wore a safflower garland, and after saluting Bighnes, the king issued from his palace.

\* White stockings, and a white blaze on the forehead.

† A river about five miles west of Bhawárá.

‡ *Chhemankarini*, the Bráhmaní kite or Coromandel eagle, considered as a bird of good omen, *Falco Ponticerianus*.

§ Two names of Ganes, the conqueror of obstacles.

13. *Chhand Tribhangi.*

Indra, the king of heaven ran away in terror, and took shelter on mount Meru. There he extolled mother Durgá, and besought her to save him from his great fear. Who can count the kings of the earth? They were but lords of the poor, and easily submitted to his (Narendra's) authority. By the pride of the dust of his troops the very sun was obscured, and the earth trembled. Who could withstand him. The great warrior of Bíjápur, and the heroic king of Audh, took to penance and so conquered their fears. The Rájás of Huglí and Calcutta gave up their power, and wandered about clothed in rags. The king of the south deserted his arms and presented slaves. The queen of Dháká wandered about like a mad woman, and other kings too lost heart. Dillí shook, Banáras fled, Betiyá fell down, for who could stand in his way. All feared much when the king of Mithilá, the refuge of the distressed, issued forth.

14. *Dohá.*

The Maháráj, bow in hand, marched from the fort, and encamped in the plain of Hariná.

15. *Chhand Narách.*

Very long tent-walls of cloth upheld the tents set with jewels and thousands of golden wires. In one place stood canopies reaching to the sky, in another were deposited rare kinds of palanquins. Elsewhere were thousands of weapons and litters,\* and of horses and elephants. Elsewhere were laid bows and innumerable arrows of excellent quality. Elsewhere were drums of various kinds, while in other places were the brilliant soldiers, conquerors in fight.

16. *Dohá.*

Kabí Lál describes the camp-bazár of the Lord of Mithilá. It appeared four times as extensive as the city of the gods.

17. *Chhand Bhujangaprayát.*

The fountain was laid and a beautiful market established. Thousands of merchants marched in rows. Numerous young damsels sang sweet songs and asked for alms. Here were being sold edible roots,† sugar and bags of salt. He who tasted these, considered thereafter ambrosia sour. There were they preparing sponge-cakes and sweet-meats. Here were fruits in syrup, there were sugarcandy and *jilebis*,‡

\* A *lál'kí* or *nál'kí* is the ornamented litter used at a wedding.

† *Kund* is roots like the potatoe, yam, &c., as distinguished from *múl*, which means roots like the turnip, carrot, or radish.

‡ A kind of long hollow tube of flour and sugar, curled into patterns, and filled with syrup.

and many stood bargaining their prices. Here were they selling brown sugar and slabs of molasses, and there were laid cakes prepared in clarified butter. Here were sold embroidered scymitars and swords, and there the jewellers were selling *sikká* gold mohars. Here people were greatly crowded round the store house, and thousands of Kachchhí and Khanhári horses were being sold ; there were infuriated elephants, and many camels. Here were painters standing as they painted pictures, there were laid hundreds of thousands of raisins and dried dates, and in another place fell into the reservoir showers from the fountain. Here were golden threads, and woollen§ double shawls, there were sold necklaces of jewels and pearls. Here were lengths of silken cloth, and coats of muslin whose price no one was able to fix.

### 18. *Dohá.*

They marched from Rámpaṭí,|| and thence to Achának. There the king heard the beat of kettledrums, and knew that the army of the Governor was very near.

### 19. *Chhang Bhujangaprayát.*

On both sides the armies were ready, and in the midst was the great river. Thousands of arrows, bows, and cannon balls were discharged, which seemed as if all the stars were falling from heaven at once. The wand-bearers ran up and down quick as the chimes (rung at the end of a watch). The sky was filled up as if with fireworks in the form of flowers. The hunters, approached and shot the enemy who lost heart and retired. The wounded were laid on beds (and so thick did they lie) that no one was able to pass by that way.

### 20. *Dohá.*

The king told the Bakhshí to go up to the battle-field, and to keep all on the alert, for fear the enemy should in the end have recourse to some stratagem. The Bakhshí took Jáfar Khán and Hálá Ráy, beat the bass kettledrum, and entered the battle-field. Some one showed Mahthá the way, and he performed a stratagem, and mounting a conveyance he crossed the river at Gangduár Ghát. Then doubling his pace he arrived at the hamlet of Bishnupúr. The messengers told the king that the armies (*lit.* crowds) had come to close quarters, and the two mighty heroes Mitrajít and Umráo saluted the king and thrust their feet into the stirrup.

\* *Sál báfi* means woven of wool.

† About five miles east of Bhawáṛá.

21. *Chhand Bhujangaprayát.*

The Bais, Bagghel, Bachhbaut, and Hárá\* marched down with jewelled swords in their hands. The Hárás shone each a greater hero than the other and on all sides the drums loudly sounded. Thousands, of arrows, bows, and cannon-balls were discharged, but on neither side would the great warriors retreat. Step by step the armies approached each other, and on the festival of the Maháshṭamí (the eighth day of the bright half of Ásin, sacred to Durgá) the (final) struggle took place. Countless drums, trumpets, and conches sounded, and, O Rám, a dense, loud, noise arose. Salábati galloped his horse, and Umráo Singh stood up to oppose him. Both were heroes of matchless valour, and the duel between them was like that between Karṇa and Arjuna. They drew their swords from the scabbards, and struck out fiercely with them, so that they flashed like lightning amidst the dense clouds. In the end Salábati was wounded, and tottered helpless and Umráo seized him, thrust him down and killed him. Bhikhári saw this and ran up, but could not arrive in time, and only struck at the (elephant's) howdah. The cannon balls began to fall amongst them, and the brave heroes fell, so that dread filled the city of Indra itself (at the sight). Fairies, whose fame had filled the whole earth, then came down with garlands of flowers. Then the great heroes, with thousands and thousands of companions, alighted from their horses.

22. *Chhand Narách.*

They fell, they raised each other, they ran here and there, they fought in single combat like huge elephants wrestling together. King Mitrajít Ráo caught hold of Bakht Singh, who, struck with severe blows, fell down whirling. Words could not be heard for the hissing of the countless arrows, as the nobles fought in different ways. The captains kept causing wounds incessantly, and the arrows despatched from their bows filled the whole space betwixt heaven and earth. As each heard of the defeat of his side, he lost control over himself, when in the struggle the cannons thundered a thousand times. Loud horrible noises arose as shield crashed against shield, and as all around sword clashed against sword. In their rage the heroes shout 'It is well, it is well', and rushed forward to the fight, and in pitched combats ten million heads were severed with long-swords. The headless trunks turned round and fell with a terrible whirl upon the earth. Ah ! one beats another down and butchers him. In the battle-field of the Lord of Mithilá, a river flowed here and there, in which the lotuses were represented by handsome heads, the water blood, and the weeds (the

\* Various Rajpút tribes.

corpses') hair. The battle was won, and at the end enjoying the feast on the enemy, ghouls ate and ate the (dead soldiers') heads till they were satiated. Kálí herself brought home numerous garlands of human heads, and with huge demons, invested their lord (Siva) with them. All the (king's army) returned from the battle-field for the general (Bhikhári) had fled away. The king (of Mithilá) gained the victory, and the drum of his fame resounded.

### 23. *Dohá.*

The king gained the victory, the general fled; and the fame of Tírhot quadrupled. The mother of the universe kept her promise to the Maháráj, and spared only one man—Bhikhári, on account of his high position.

### 24. *Chhand Bhujangaprayát.*

All the Ráos and Ránás who remained behind plundered the store-house, the double-drums and flags. Here they looted palanquins, litters and ten millions of diamonds, and there cartridge boxes filled by special heroes. They plundered tents, tent-walls, camels, and carts. Here and there, some pillaged behind others. They looted spears, elephant-cannons, lances and javelins, and here and there one (quarrelled) with another, and pierced him to the heart. In other places the men of the Bais clan ran over and pillaged horses and elephants. In this way was the government of the Maháráj re-established.\*

### 25. *Dohá.*

When they had finished pillaging they returned besmeared with blood, and Lál, the good poet, says that in this manner Bhikhári lost the battle.

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*Two versions of the Song of Gopí Chand.—Edited and translated by  
G. A. GRIERSON, C. S.*

There is no legend more popular throughout the whole of Northern India, than those of Bhartharí and his nephew Gopí Chand. They were two kings who deserted their thrones to become disciples of Gorakhnáth. The story of Gopí Chand has penetrated as far east as even Rangpúr, where it is preserved in the Song of Mánik Chandra.† A Hindí version of the legend can be bought for a few pice in any up-country bazár.‡ The two versions here given in parallel columns were taken down from

\* *Lit.* Cries of alas (from persons seeking justice) were again made to the Maháráj.

† Published in J. A. S. B., Part I, No. 3, 1878.

‡ Gopí Chand Bhartharí ká Jog, by Lachhman Dás.

the mouths of singers in different parts of Bihár. The Bhojpúrí version was found in Sháhábád, and the Magahí one in Gayá. They are excellent examples of these two closely related dialects.

The following is a brief account of the whole tale of Gopí Chand taken from the Gopí Chand Bhartharí ká Jog above referred to. The two Bihári versions only contain the latter portion of the legend. Gopí Chand was a king of Dhára. His mother's name was Maináwatí, and her brother was the famous Bhartharí, who, after being a king, himself became a disciple of Gorakhnáth and a Jogi. When Gopí Chand grew up and was married, his mother attempted to induce him also to take vows of asceticism. After making various objections he finally consented and went off to look for Gorakhnáth who was his mother's *guru*. On the way he found his mother's brother Bhartharí, who at first attempted to turn him from his purpose, but finally took him to Gorakhnáth. The latter also dissuaded, but finding the king persistent ordered him, as a test to go forth as a beggar, and ask for alms from his wife, Queen Ratan Kumári. After wandering through many lands, he reached his palace, and asked for alms. A maid-servant came out but he refused to take anything from her, telling her to go and tell the Queen that he wished to receive alms from her. The Queen came, and also endeavoured to dissuade him from becoming an ascetic, and entreated him to stay with her. He refused. The author then\* continues:—

इतनी बात रानी रतन कुमारी की सुन के, गोपी चन्द वहाँ से चल दिये  
और चले जहाँ मैनावती माता बैठी, जहाँ आय पङ्क्ते, और माता जी को  
भली भाँति से प्रनाम किया। तब माता ने भली भाँति से आसीस दीनी।  
तब माता से आगया ले कर बाकी समाचार मुख जबानी से बरनन किये।  
तब माता ने फेर उत्तर दिया कि बेटा सुनो—

अब जवाब माता का गोपी चन्द से ।

क्षन्द कुण्डलिया ।

दोहा ॥ चार खूट रमते फिरो करो देस की सैर ।

बङ्गाले मति जाइयो जो तूँ चाहै खैर ॥

कब्य ॥ (बेटा जी†) जो तू चाहै खैर तेरि बरजै महतारी ।

सुनि गोपी चन्द लाल अरज एक मान हमारी ॥

\* The metre of the following version is often incorrect in the original, and is given as *dohás* and *chaupáis*. It is really not very correct *kundaliyá*. The last word of each *kábya* should properly be same as the first word of the preceding *dohá*, but this is not the case.

† The words *betá jí* &c., do not form part of the metre. Such additional words are known in prosody technically as *jor*, and should be read in a lower tone than the rest of the poem.

(बेटा जी) गुरु से राखो ध्यान रहैगी लाज तुम्हारी ।  
 दरसन दीजो फेर तेरि सूरति पर बारी ॥ १ ॥

दा० ॥ बङ्गाला कैसा बसै कैसा उस का भेस ।  
 हम ने तो देखा नहीं राज किये चङ्ग देस ॥

का० ॥ (माता जी) राज किये चङ्ग देस मुल्क मै देखे सारे ।  
 दिल्ली सहर सुधान देखि लिय तक्त तिजारे ॥

(माता जी) दच्छिन आ गुजरात रहे ना हम से न्यारे ।  
 पूरब पच्छिम देखि लिये सब बलख बुखारे ॥ २ ॥

दा० ॥ बचन हमारा मानियो बङ्गाले मति जाय ।  
 बहिन तेरि चम्मावती देखत ही मरि जाय ॥

का० ॥ (बेटा जी) देखत ही मरि जाय बहिन चम्मा दे तेरी ।  
 तोहि लागे अपराध करै क्यों ऐसी फेरी ॥

(बेटा जी) चन्दन विरवा क्षीण पेड़ क्यों बोवै बेरी ।  
 जनम अकारथ जाय कही तुम मानो मेरी ॥ ३ ॥

दा० ॥ जा दिन से जोगी भये करि करि भगवा भेख ।  
 घर सोलह सौ नारि है इन में मरी न एक ॥

बहिन मेरी कैसे मरेगी

The substance of the foregoing (it is too easy to need translation) is that Gopí Chand went to his mother, who warned him in his journeys never to go to Bangál. The king says he has never yet been there, and asks what sort of country it is. He has been all over India, Balkh and Bukhárá, but has never been there. The mother insists on the necessity of his avoiding Bangál, for his sister Champá (or Birná as she is called in the Bihári versions) lives there, and if she chance to see him wandering as a beggar, she will die of grief. To which he replies, 'when I went first to be an ascetic, I left sixteen hundred wives behind me, and not one of them died. Why then should my sister die ?'

In spite of his mother's warning Gopí Chand goes to Bangál, and calls at the palace of his sister Champá for alms. A maid-servant comes out and offers them to him, but he refuses to take them from her, saying he will take them from the hand of Champá and of no one else. She gets angry at this, whereupon he chides her saying 'I bought you and gave you to my sister in her dowry, but now that I have become an ascetic you do not recognize me.' The girl then goes and tells Champá, who comes out and at first refuses to believe that the beggar is her brother. When, however, he proved his identity, by recalling to her particulars of her wedding which none but he could know, she became

convinced, and according to Maináwatí's prophecy fell down dead. Gopí Chand then called on his master Gorakhnáth, who came and restored her to life. This is the end of the usual story. The Magahí version carries the story on a stage further. It adds that Birná (*i. e.* Champá), after coming to life, wept and wept till the earth opened and swallowed her up.

## गीत राजा गोपी चन्द ।

(Bhojpúrī.)

१ । फाड़ के पितम्मर राजा गोपी चन्द गुदड़ी बनावत बाड़े । बीचे लागे हीरा लाल मेाती । बन गैलि गुदड़िया अनमोल । पहिर के गुदड़ी राजा रमि के चलत हैं । माता उन्ह के गुदड़ी धूं के ठाड़े । तोहि देख बेटा बाँधों धिरजवा । तूं तो निकल के बेटा हैत बाड़े जोगी । नौ रे महिना बेटा ओदर में रखलों, ऐहे रे बिपतिया लाल मोरे काम । सात सोत के दुधवा पियाएँ । तवना के दमवाँ मोहि दे के जाझ ॥

लेझ, तब पाछे फकीर हाइ जाझ ॥ प्रतना सुने गोपी चन्द तब सूझे धरती ऊपर असमान । कउन ऐसन बेटा हैअत जे स्वर्ग के तरग गिनत । कउन ऐसन बेटा हैअत जे माता के दूध के दाम देत । जौँ मैना माता गाइ के

गैया भैसिया के दुधवा तूं चाह्छ हटिया बजरिया से किनि के मैं देओँ । बाबा के सगरवा दूध से भराऊँ, तार लेह्ह तूं दुधवा के दाम । तेझ पर उरिन मैं माँता से नाहिँ । दुधवा तूं बकसू माँता धरम के पीछे ॥ लागु धरदेसिया तूं रे जोगी । दुधवा

## गीत राजा गोपी चन्द ।

(Magahí.)

१ । पहिर गुदरी राजा बन चले । माता गुदरी धरि ठाड़ ॥ नव महिना बेटा उदर मैं पाललूँ । दसवाँ मैं लिएलू अबतार । जनम तें मरि जैतू, बेटा, करतूँ सँतोख । प्रतना नू बोलू गोपी चन्द कि, जानू, मैचा, जन्म के हम बाँझ ही । जानू हमरा कोख मैं ठाक मदार जन्मल, प्रह से अप्पन पापी प्रान के समुभाऊ ॥ प्रतना बोलल मैना माता, बसल बसल नगरी कैलू उजाड़ । तोहि बिना मँडलिया स्थन गोपी चन्द । प्रतना नू बोलू गोपी चन्द, कहे माता मैना, दूध के दाम देइ लेझ, तब पाछे फकीर हाइ जाझ ॥ प्रतना सुने गोपी चन्द तब सूझे धरती ऊपर असमान । कउन ऐसन बेटा हैअत जे स्वर्ग के तरग गिनत । कउन ऐसन बेटा हैअत जे माता गाइ के दूध चहितौ, हाट बजार से मँगाय देतूँ । तोहार दूध से आलाचार है । तोहार दूध के माइ सारा बदन पालल है, तोहार दूध अनमोल है ॥ गाइ भैस के दूध बेटा नहिँ पिलौली । पिलौली हम स्थन के दूध । दूध के हरावन डाले जोगी । बेटा फकीर नू है । आभ पालू गाड़ी दीन गाड़ी रात ।

तव बकसौं बेटा धरम के पीछे । प्रतनी  
कहलिया मोर मान लेबे ॥

एक दीन बेटा बिपत में काम आवह ।  
तूं निकल के, बे, फकीर जोगी मत  
होअ, प्रतना नव बोलह गोपी चन्द ॥

२। आन दे मैना माता कूरी कटारी । काट के कलेजी रख देऊँ, तब  
जोगी फकीर होइ जाऊँ । मैना माता दूध बकसू धर्म के । निहारे लागे  
परदेसी तोहार जोगी ॥ जियत रहन बेटा, जोगी हो के आइ मिलह । करि  
तीरथ बरत होय सवाब ॥ मुलाकात बरि दूर गेल माता । प्रतना नव बोलू,  
मैना माता, कि हमे बकसलूँ । बकसयुन परमेखर जे जन्म कर्म देलक ॥

३। हाथिन के क्वाडे गोपी चन्द । ऊँटन के क्वाडे ऊँटसार । घोड़न के क्वाडे  
घोड़सार । नव सै क्वाडे पैठान । पाँच सै रोए कन्या कुमार । नव सै रोए  
बिहायी । मैना माता रोए पटकि सिंधासन । हन्सा चिरई रोए कोठा  
के अटारी । गाँव के रोए रैयत किसान । बाट के रोए बटोही । कूआँ के  
रोए पनिहारिन । ऐसन ऐसन दुलखा निकल के भेलन जोगी ॥

४। तीन रे तिरलोकिया में फेरिया  
लगैहै । बहिन रे बिरनवा का देस  
मत जैहैँ । मरि जैहैँ बहिनिया तोर,  
क्वाती फाटि, जहिया सुनिहै भैया मोर  
भैल है जोगी ॥ बारी सतरनियाँ रे  
बारे के बियाहल, तवनो गुदड़िया धै  
के ठाडे । तुहँ तो सामी मोर जोगिया  
होत बाडे । कवन रे अलिमियाँ मो के  
दे के जैबे । पथल के मुरतिया तो होत  
गोपी चन्दा । भवंरा भेलसवे उड़ि गैले ॥

५। पहिले बसेडे देला केदली का  
बनवाँ । जँगली हरिनियाँ देख रोए ।  
जङ्गल के मेवात तुर के खियावे । खा  
ले रे जोगिया मोर जङ्गल के मेवातु ॥  
अनवाँ नव खाबेँ माँता, पिअबेँ नव  
पानियाँ । बिरना सहर मोहि देह  
बताइ ॥ प्रतना बचनियाँ सुनि, बोले  
बनसपति, क्वे रे महिना के रहिया  
बिरना सहरवा । मरि जैबे अनवाँ  
बिन पानी । अड़बड़ रहतवा तोर

४। प्रतना बोलल मैना माता,  
सुनव बेटा हमर बात । तीन मुलुक  
भिच्छा माँगव बहिनी के देस मत  
जाऊँ ॥ भला तो कैलू माइ, चैतैलू  
चैताइ । भूलल बहिनी देलू समु-  
भाइ ॥ रोअत बहिनी तोहार क्व  
मास । तेह बहिनी के नैहर के  
आस ॥

५। पहिला मजिल कैलन गोपी  
चन्द । केदली जङ्गल में परि गेल ।  
साँझ बन के रोए बनसपति माइ ।  
जङ्गल के रोए हरिन । हरिन के रो-  
अले जङ्गल के पात खहराय । सूरत-  
सकल देखि के आधी रात पक्ली पहर  
खोल के बजावे बनसपति । बनसपति  
के दया लागि जाय । बड़े बड़े सेर बड़े  
बड़े सिङ्घ मार के खाइ जैहै । बहिनी  
से मुलाकात नहिँ होय ॥ गोपी चन्द

बिरना सहरवा॥ माँता मोर मिनतिया  
तो मान लेबे। तो केतने दिनवे में पज्जंचे,  
मोर माँता, ओ ही तरे हमरा के  
देह पज्जंचाइ॥ चिल्हिया सरूप होत  
बनसपति, तोतवा सरूप लेत बैठाइ॥  
बिरना सहरवा में देले पज्जंचाइ॥

६। गलिया के गलिया बिरना  
फेरिया लगावे। जीच्र मोर नगरिया  
के दाता लोग। राजन घरवा के दुआरा  
बतावह। तोहरे सरनियाँ में काड़  
देबेँ॥

नगरी के लोग कहलन, बाबा टीकन। खाइ खबर सभ केऊ लेत॥ गोपी चन्द  
बोलल कि हे गाँव के बहिनी माइ। राजा के दोआर हमरा बताइ देझ।  
राजा के दोआर टीकब। परजा के दोआर नहिँ टीकब॥ नगर के माइ

ऊँच रे अटरिया नीच है दुआ-  
रिया। दुआरवे पर उकठल चनन के  
फेड़। उहे हवे रजवा घर के दुआर॥

७। ओहि तर जाइ जोगी धुँझयाँ  
लगावे। फूल के चननवा भैल कचनार।  
उपरा से ताकत बाड़ी बहिनी उन्ह के  
बिरना। ऐसन जोगी तपसी में नाहिँ  
देखलोँ॥ जलदी बोलावत बाड़ी मुँगिया  
लैँडिया। आऊ लैँडी उन्ह कर  
जतिया तें पुकू॥ हथवा तव जोड़  
जोगी अरज लगावत बाड़े। लैँडी,  
मोर कहलकी तें मान ले। कृतिरी  
मोरे जतिया। तें जा के बतैहै।  
कहिहै जनमवाँ के सिध हवे जोगी॥  
जतिया क्षिपौलन, तो भल कैलन।

बोलल, चाहे मरोँ, चाहे जीचोँ, जाएँ  
बहिनी देस॥ बनसपति के दया लागल।  
गोपी चन्द के तोता बनौली, अपने  
हन्स चिरई बनि जाय। घड़ी पहर में  
गोपी चन्द बहिनी के देस में उतार  
देलक॥

८। बहिनी के देस में गोपी चन्द पज्जं-  
चल। मुँह खाक से भूती लगाइ गुदरी  
से देह क्षिपाइ गली गली फोरे गोपी  
चन्द। सभ के दोआर चन्दन के पेड़,  
नव राजा के दोआर चीन्हल नव परजा  
के, सभ के दरवाजा फेरी लगौलक॥

बहिनी बोललन, ऊँची अटारी नीची  
दुआर। सोना के चौकठ रूपे केवाड़।  
ओरा भौरा दो हाथिन। बारह बरस  
के सूखल चन्दन॥

९। गोपी चन्द चलि भेल बहिनीक  
दुआर। सूखल चन्दन तरे धूर्दूर देल  
जमाइ। बारह बरिस के सूखल चन्दन  
भेल कचनार॥ देखे नगर के राजा परजा  
लोग। जोगी ना है। केऊ है भगवान।  
सूखल चन्दन बारह बरस के भेल  
कचनार॥ मूँगा लैँडी बोलली। सूखल  
सूखल चन्दन खातिर बरहमन खि-  
लाऊ॥ सूखल चन्दन होए कचनार।  
जोगी उक अनूप आएल॥ चार सखि  
आगे चार पांच बीच में बहिनी उन्ह  
के चललन। खिरको पक्का खोलि देलन।  
उक नजर जोगी के ऊपर उक नजर  
चन्दन के पेड़ तर। सूखल चन्दन रानी  
देखे कचनार, रानी गिरल भुरक्षाइ॥

८। बाबा भोजन के खबरिया तब  
दूना ना बताइ। कि खैबून राजन घर के  
रसुइया, कि करवून दुधवा के फरहार।  
बारह बरिस भैल, रे लैंडी, कहियो  
हथवा हम नाहिँ जारल। हम तब  
खैबौं राजन घर के रसोइ। तबन आवे  
बराहन बरुआ के हाथे। लैंडी के  
कुछलका ऊहो ना खैबौं। कृतिरी धरम  
मोर जाई नसाइ। नई रे बिपतिया  
राम मोर डालल। लिखल करमवाँ के  
भैलीं जोगी॥

९। प्रतना बचनिया सोनि के  
लैंडी तब गैली, भोजन के खबरिया  
तब भूलि गैली लैंडी। भूलि गैली  
टहल टिकुरा। भोजन के खबरिया तो  
केऊ ना लेल। अधी तब राति जोगी  
बन्सी बजावे। बहिनी रे बिरनवाँ के  
सबद परले॥

सवाइ बढ़ि जाय। खाय बहिनी बिसरल होअत। जेतना भण्डार में रहे सभ  
जरि जाप्रत। नवठी पात पुरावू नब खाय नब हमर धरम जाप्रत॥ प्रतना  
में सुनली बहिनी मुरली के सबद॥

१०। जलदी बोलावे रानी मुँगिया  
लैंडी। प्रक जोगी दुआरा पर करत बा  
उपास। जलदी बोलाऊ लैंडी बराहन  
कौकड़वा। कहहू रे जेवना के कुस-  
लात॥ जा के तब लैंडी बराहन के  
बोलावे। कृतिस तौलिया में कृतिसो  
परकार। प्रको में खाली ना। अबहीं  
चाहू बराहन सै कुँआरा खियावू।  
प्रक जोगी दुआर पर कवन बिसात॥

११। गोड़वा तब धोइ बराहन  
खोलत बा भण्डार। सारी रे तौलिया

८। का जोगी भोजन करिहू॥  
का करिहू अहार। कि राजा रसो-  
इया जेमावत॥ गोपी चन्द बोलल, नई  
बिपत नरायन देलन। धूँआँ देखि  
नैना से आँसू ढरे। आग देखि देहो  
मैं फोला पड़ि जाय। कह देह राजन  
के बरहमन के हाथ जेवनार बनावू,  
तब तो खाप्रब॥

९। मूँगा लैंडी भूलि गेल अपना  
पत्री मैं। रानी भूलि गेल पाट सिंगार।  
बरु बरहमन भूलि गेल अपना भङ्ग मैं।  
आधी रात पहिले पहर बीत गेल।  
केऊ खाप्रब के खबर नहीं लेलन। प्रतना  
मैं गोपी चन्द मुरली बजाइ, हमर  
बहिनी खात पीत होअत, तो सत के

सवाइ बढ़ि जाय। खाय बहिनी बिसरल होअत। जेतना भण्डार मैं रहे सभ  
जरि जाप्रत। नवठी पात पुरावू नब खाय नब हमर धरम जाप्रत॥ प्रतना  
में सुनली बहिनी मुरली के सबद॥

१०। मूँगा लैंडी, सभ खाय हमरा  
नगरी मैं। जोगी उपास परे। मूँगा  
लैंडी कहली, हम का जानी। बरुआ  
बरहमन के बोलाइ भेजल। बरुआ बर-  
हमन के बोललन, कि जलदी रसोइ दे  
आवहू जोगी के। बरुआ बोलल कि  
प्रक जोगी के कौन बिसात है। कृप्न  
सौ कूँआर जेवा देऊ॥

११। सेना के खड़ौआँ पर होए  
असवार। जाइ के खोले भण्डार। देखे

जर के खँगार । मनवाँ में सोचत बाड़े  
बराहन के क्षोकड़वा, कवन रे अचम्हो  
होइ गैले । ओहि रे तौलिया के जरी  
करौंदी मुँगिया लौँडिया से देला  
भेजाइ । राजन घरवा के नैयाँ क्षिपैहै ।  
कहिहै मोर गरिबवा घर के रसोइ ॥  
सुँगिया लौँडी रे ले के तो गैली ।  
जोगी तोर करमवाँ में आगि लागे ।  
जरि गैले मोर राजन घर के रसोइ ॥

मूँगा लौँडी चललन । ले बाबा जोगी रसोइ । तोहरा करम में आग लागे ॥  
कोपकाप करि अँधिआरी । उठि गोपी चन्द अकुताइ । सोना के तुमड़ी ले  
पानी । सोना के कटोरा में ले रसोइ ।

१२ । उतना बचन सुनि जोगिया  
तँ हँसे । चमकत बा बतिसिया रे  
मुख के दाँत । ओहि रे उजिअरवा  
में लेत बा करौंदी । का दिहली  
बहिन हमार ॥ ओहि रे करौंदी राजा  
खुँटवा गठियावे । खात बाटे धुँइयाँ  
के खाक भभूति ॥

१३ । हेत रे फजिरवा तँ लोहिया  
लागे । बहिन के सगरवे पर करे अस-  
नान । सारी रे बदनियाँ तँ गुदड़ी  
क्षपावे । मुँहवा के सुरतिया तो नाहिँ  
रे क्षपे । सानि क भभूतिया तो भसम  
चढ़ावे । बहिन के दुअरवे पर ठाड़  
बाड़े । हथवा तँ जोर जोगी अरज  
लगावे । हमरो तँ भिक्षवा रानी देबे  
तोहरो दुअरवा हम क्षोड़ देबोँ ॥

१४ । गुदड़ी बस्तर मूँगा लौँडी नेहार, देखि जोगी के सकल सूरत, गावत  
जाय रङ्ग महलेँ मेँ । मूँगा लौँडी कहलन कि, हे बहिनी, जउन रङ्ग के गोपी  
चन्दा भाइ क्षोड़े, तउन रङ्ग के जोगी चन्दा बाबा ॥ मूँगा लौँडी तोर भाइ  
भतींजा खाऊँ । हमर भाइ गोपी चन्दा जोँ आवत तो उजरेपा बसे जाय ।

तो क्ष्यन तौली में आग लागल । क्ष्यन  
तौल । गरावँ तो मूठी भर करौंनी  
निकसल । बरुआ बरहमन बोलल कि  
मूँगा लौँडी जोगी के रसोई दे आवँ ॥  
जात के जुठाही मूँगा, बात के होशि-  
यार । गरी, बदाम, क्षोहाड़ा, मोनका,  
पाँच खिल्ली पान लगा देथ । सोना के  
थाल में मूँगा लौँडी धर लेल । दहो  
करौंनी कटोरा में । ले गङ्गा जल पानी

मूँगा लौँडी चललन । ले बाबा जोगी रसोइ । तोहरा करम में आग लागे ॥  
कोपकाप करि अँधिआरी । उठि गोपी चन्द अकुताइ । सोना के तुमड़ी ले  
पानी । सोना के कटोरा में ले रसोइ ।

१२ । कोपकाप के अँधिआरियाँ  
अपने रसोइ देखे के गोपी चन्द हँस  
देत । रात हलै, तँ दीन हो गेलइ । चदरी  
खोलि गेठिया लेलक रसोइआ जलल  
करौंनी । गोपी चन्द धूनी काढ़ के  
राखि सानत होइ । पाँच पतरी पर  
रख देलक । पाँचो परकार बनि गेल ॥

१३ । हेत फजिर जाए पोखरा पर  
अखान करे । सभ देह गुदरी से क्षिपाय,  
ओ मुँह खाक भभूती लगाय । हमरा  
बहिनी न चीन्हे । जोगी फकीर होइ  
जाऊँ ॥ का गोपी चन्दा दाँत के बतीसी  
चमके । का गोपी चन्दा रे क्ले । उक  
बरन के गोपी चन्दा हलै, औ आठ  
बरन सूरत बढ़े ॥ हेत फजिर जाए  
बहिनी के दुआर । भिक्षा माँगे । जीए  
बहिनी बचा सुखदाय तोहार ॥

नौ सै घोड़ा, नौ सै हाथी, नौ सै मोगल पैठान, नौ सै क्रुंचर पैठान ॥  
मूँगा लैँडी बोलल, नव चलबू देखे, दमरी दोकरा माझर खाय मरि जाय ॥  
छतना सुनत बहिनी बिरना, जात के नीची, जात जुठाही मूँगा लैँडी ।  
आज नहिँ हम चलबू, दमरी के माझर ले के खाय मरि जाय । हमरा  
ऊपर अपराध चढ़े ॥ बाबा के हाथ के अँगठी, औ महतारी के चिट सारी,

सोनवाँ रुपवा के खिचड़ी बनावत  
बाड़ी । चलत बाड़ी भैया के भिच्छा  
देवे । मुँगिया लैँडिया से देली भोजाइ ।  
जोगी आपन भिक्षा ले, तूँ लेवे ॥

१५ । हथवा तव जोगी अरज  
लगावत बाड़े । कङ्कड़ पथरवा बहिन  
के रे चलावे । हम के देतूँ गुदड़ी के  
कपड़ा पुरान ॥ रहेला कपड़ा मोरी  
चेरिया लैँडिया । फारे खातिर नाहिँ  
बाटे मोर कपड़ा पुरान । अपने मैं भैया  
के लाख सै दोहाइ । नाहिँ बाटे कपड़ा  
पुरान ॥ छतना बचनिया तव बहिन  
उन्ह के बोले । मरे तोरे भैया रे राजा

गोपी चन्दा । भूठे रे किरियवा तूँ काहे के खाएऊ ॥ दे के सरपवा तव  
जोगी रम चलत बाड़े । बहिन उन्ह के गुदड़ी धे बिलमावे । फाड़ि के  
पितमर जोगी गुदड़ी बना देवोँ । काहे मेरा भैया के देझ सराप । अपने  
गरुच्छवा के लाख सै दोहाइ । अपने तव मतवा के दूध हराम । काहे मेरा  
भैया के दिहलू सराप ॥

१६ । हथवा तव जोड़ जोगी पता आपन बतलावत बाड़े । बङ्का  
सहरवा राजा रघुबन्सी । बाबा रे तिरलोकी सिंह के मैं नाती ।

बाबा रे भवन्दा सिंह के मैं बेटा ।  
अँधरी बहिनियाँ मैं तोर सग  
भैया । बड़ी तूँ सँपतिया पर गैलू  
अँधराय । ना चिन्हलू उदरी एक  
भाइ ॥

१७ । छतना बचन सुनि बहिन उन्ह के बोलत बा, सुन रे लैँडिया मोरि  
बात । छह मोर भैया जोग नाहिँ बाड़े । बारह सै कुँअरवा मेरा देवड़ी पर

जौ भौजी के हाथ के कङ्कन, चार  
सखि आगे चार पांके, सोनन के थाल  
मैं भोख लेले । ले, बाबा जोगी, कङ्कड़  
दुआर ॥

१५ । कङ्कड़ पथल कङ्कलू माता  
के महल मैं । छह कङ्कड़ पथल ले के  
हम का करब ॥ बहिनी बोलली, सोना  
चाँदी भिच्छा देत हिचउ, कङ्कड़ पथल  
बनाइ देलके ॥ जैं कउनो साल दोसाला  
देतूँ तो गुदरिया बनाय देतूँ ॥ जोगी  
बाबा लेत नहिँ, ऐसी गाड़ी कसम खा  
जाय । जोगी बाबा हमर दुआर कङ्कड़  
देह । तोहरा जोग कपड़ा नहिँ है ॥

१६ । सुनि छतना बोलल गोपी चन्द,  
पाय धन गैलू उधराय । नहिँ चिन्हहू  
कोखिया के सङ्ग भाइ ॥ छतना सुन  
गोपी चन्द बोलल, हम नैहर के नाते  
तोहर भाइ ॥

नोकर। ओहि कुँचरवा मैं से जोगिया बाटे। जानत बाड़े मोर भाइ बाप के नाम। जहिया मोरे ऐते भैया गोपी चन्दा, चार सै तव घोड़ा ऐते ताजी और तुरकी। हथियन से हलफा उठि जैते। पैदल के गिनितिया कवन हे चलावे। उजरी नगरिया बस जैते, जहिया ऐते भैया मोर गोपी चन्दा।

हमरा भैया के हथवा मैं कलम के चिन्हवाँ। का मोरे भैया रे तिलक चढ़ाय। का मोरे भैया दिहले दहेज ॥

लाख सै असरफी, रे बहिन, तिलक चढ़ाप्रँऊँ। भँवरा हथिया दौचरा का पूजा। गाड़ी छकड़वा दिहले लदाइ सौनवाँ। कँसहँड़ के गिनती कवन चलावे। रुपिया पर कलम नव चलाप्रँऊँ। बज्ज के कँगनवाँ तोरे हथवा बिराजे। बाबा के मुँदरिया तोरा हथवा मैं चमके। पहिरले बाड़िस नैहर के चित रङ्ग सारी ॥

१८। उतना बचनिया सुनि के बहिन उन्ह के दौड़ल जैसे दूटे गैया के ओर बाक्श। भाइ रे बहिनियाँ तव भेटे लागे। जङ्गल के पतवा तव गैले खहराय। कै कै जैवनवाँ मैं भैया के

खियाओँ। पाके पूँछे नैहर कुसलात। किहूँ भैया चढ़ि आइल सुबवा नबाब। के तोर देसवा रे छोर लेले। इहाँ, मैं भेजोँ भैया जोरि फौदिया। तोहार देसवा लेज़ छोड़ाइ ॥ नाहिँ बहिन चड़े कैजु सुबवा नबाब। नाहिँ कैजु मोर देसवा हर लेले। लिखल

करमवाँ के भैले जोगी। तोरा हथवा के, बहिन, जैवना नाहिँ खैबोँ। प्रहि घड़ी मोर हथवा कुँकु बाटे। रात के रसोइया तव देखू, बहिन बिरना। का दिहलू बहिन। जरि रे करमवाँ। खोरिया के टुकड़ा मोहि चँखिया देखौलू। उतरल नगरिया के रे भार ॥ खोलि के करौनी जोगिया देखैले। मरि गैली बहिनियाँ क्षाती फाठ।

१७। जब जानूँ के हमर भाइ है, कि बियाह जे मिलल हमरा से दे तू बताइ ॥

गोपी चन्द बोलल कि देखू बाबा के हाथ के अँगूठी सेमे। माता के चिट-सार, भौजी के हाथ के कङ्गन ॥

१८। उतना सुनि बहिनी बिरना धर के गुदरी लागे रोए। माय बिरो-गिन, भाइ जोगिया आज। बैसू बैसू भैया पाट के सिंघासन। दुनियाँ दौलत देऊँ मँगाय ॥

किहूँ भैया चढ़ि आइल सुबवा नबाब। के तोर देसवा रे छोर लेले। इहाँ, मैं भेजोँ भैया जोरि फौदिया। तोहार देसवा लेज़ छोड़ाइ ॥ नाहिँ बहिन चड़े कैजु सुबवा नबाब। नाहिँ कैजु मोर देसवा हर लेले। लिखल

तोहरा दरवाजा बहिनी का करूँ। दो चार पैसा हॉइत, चूरी पहिरे के देइत। उतना मैं बोल सास ननन्द। रात मँगा के हाथ के रसोइ कुचल खैलू। प्रतनी बेर चीन्ह पहचान भैल, ठनगन करत है ॥ उतना सुनि बहिनी बिरना, कउन कउन बीजन, कउन कउन परकार खाय। चदरी के खूँट मैं जलल करौनी बहिनी देखिस। हाय करि के बहिनी गेल मर।

१६। मनवाँ मैं सोचत बाड़े राजा  
गोपी चन्दा माँता के कहलिया साँच  
मैली॥ कमर से निकाले राजा कुड़िया  
कटरिया। अपना गरदनवाँ पर देत बा  
चलाइ। ऊपर तव गोसैयाँ रे धव तव  
लिहले। काहे के मारे जोगी अपन  
जियरवा। तोहरा अँगुरिया मैं अमिरित  
धरवा। चीर के अँगुरिया बहिन के  
पियाँ। जोगी रम के चल देले॥ इति॥

१७। मारौँ कूरी कटारी। भाइ  
बहिनी के जगह मर जाऊँ॥ आय  
करि के नरायन बरहमन के रूप  
धरि पकड़ लिहलन। अरे पापी, कन-  
गुरिया मैं अमरित फल है। ओहि  
बहिनी के देह पियाय। मूँचल बहिनी  
तोर जी जाय। आप भैरा के खरूप  
धरि जोगी फकीर होइ रहव॥

२०। बहिनी उठि बैठल। गली के गली रोए। चन्दन के पेड़ धरि  
रोए। चन्दन के पेड़ जबाब कैलक, तुम का रोऊ। तोहार भाइ जोगी  
होइ गेल। उतना मैं बहिनी हाय करे। फाटे धरती जाय समाय। भाइ  
बहिनी के नाता दुन्नो जने के टूट गेल॥ इति॥

## TRANSLATION.

*Song of Gopí Chand,—Bhojpúrī.*

1. King Gopí Chand teareth up his royal robes and maketh out of it an ascetic's cloth. In its midst are fastened diamonds, rubies and pearls, and it was made a priceless cloth. He putteth on the cloth and starteth on his wanderings,\* and his mother catcheth him by the cloth and standeth. 'When I see thee, my son, I control myself, for thou art going forth and becoming an ascetic. I held thee, my son, for nine months in my womb, thinking that my darling would be a help to me in trouble. I gave thee seven streams of milk to drink, pay me back the price thereof.'†

*Song of Gopí Chand,—Magahí.*

1. The king donneth an ascetic's cloth, and starteth for the forest. His mother catcheth him by the cloth and standeth, saying, 'I held thee for nine months in my womb, and in the tenth didst thou take human form. If thou hadst died in thy birth, I would have been contented. Say not, O Gopí Chand, "Imagine, mother, that thou art barren or that thy womb hath borne only a *dhák* (*butea frondosa*) or a *madár* (*asclepias gigantea*)."<sup>\*</sup> With such words remonstrate with thy sinful soul.' So much said his mother Mainá. (Again she said) '(By thy going away) thou art laying waste an inhabited city, for without thee, Gopí Chand, the whole

\* ✓ रम to go, wander.

† पियाप्रुञ्जँ is 1st sing. of 2nd pret. In p. 39 of my Bh. Gram. I have marked it as wanting.

\* Two trees. The first is good for nothing but firewood, and the second is very bitter.

palace is empty. Say not so, Gopí Chand,' saith his mother Mainá. 'First pay me the price of my milk and then go and become an ascetic.' When Gopí Chand heard this, he gazed upon the earth and upon the sky above. 'What sort of son is that, who can count the stars of heaven? He alone can pay his mother the price of her milk.

'If thou desire milk of cow or buffalo, I will buy it in the market and give it to thee. I will fill my father's tank with it, and with it wilt thou recover\* the price of the milk. Even if I gave all this I would not be free from the debt. Do thou, O mother, give me a free gift of the milk, for the sake of virtue (*i. e.*, as a free gift).'

'Thou appearest, O my ascetic, to me, as amongst men of another land. I give thee, O son, the milk as a free gift, but mark this much of my words.

If, mother, thou hadst desired cow's milk, I could have bought it in the market, and given it to thee. But for thy milk I am without resource. Mother, my whole body hath been nourished by thy milk. Thy milk is beyond price.' His mother answered, 'It was not the milk of cow or buffalo that I gave thee to drink, 'twas the milk of my bosom. Thou art forgetting\* the milk. Be not an ascetic. Protect me in days and nights of trouble (*lit.* on thick days and nights). Some day O my son, be a help to

me in calamity. So, go not forth to become an ascetic. Say not so, Gopí Chand.'

2. 'Bring hither, mother Mainá, sword and dagger, that I may plant them in my liver. Or else let me go forth to be an ascetic. Give me, mother, thy milk as a free gift. Thine own ascetic of a foreign land beginneth to entreat thee.' His mother replied, 'Live my son and be an ascetic. Go thou forth, but come back to me. Great is the spiritual reward of visiting holy places and performing vows.' 'Mother, the day of meeting me again is gone far off. Say not, mother "It is I who have given the free gift." It is God who giveth me my birth, and decideth my fate.'

3. Gopí Chand leaveth his elephants. He leaveth his camels in the camel-stables, and his horses in the horse-stables. Nine hundred Paiṭhán attendants doth he leave behind. Five hundred damsels and princes weep for him. Nine hundred wedded wives weep for him. His mother Mainá dasheth down the throne and weepeth for him. The swans weep on the turrets of his house; in the villages weep the cultivators; on the way, the wayfarers; and by the well, the girls

\* तार लेब, to recover, cf. तार गैल, it has not been lost. So also √ तर, to be found, recovered.

\* हरावन = भुलावन.

who came to fetch water. 'So beloved is he of us who goeth forth as an ascetic.'

4. Thou wilt have to wander through the three worlds, but go not to the land of thy sister Birná. The heart of thy sister will burst and she will die when she heareth that her brother hath become an ascetic.'

Young Satraniyá whom he had married in his youth, she also catcheth him by the cloth and standeth. 'Thou, my husband, art becoming an ascetic, what support wilt thou give me before thou goest.\*' Gopí Chand (refused to hear her and) became like an image of stone.†

5. His first halting place‡ was in the plantain-forest and the does of the forest as they see him, weep. (Banspatí, the Egeria of the forest) plucked and offered him fruits of the forest to eat. 'Eat O ascetic, the fruit of my forest.' 'I will not eat food, O mother, nor will I drink water. Tell me where is Birná's city.' When she heard these words Banspatí said 'Birná's

4. Then said his mother Mainá 'Hear, my son, my words. Throughout the three worlds may'st thou ask for alms, but go not thou to the land of thy sister.' 'Well hast thou done, O mother, to remind me. Thou hast caused me to remember my forgotten sister.' 'Thy sister hath been weeping for these six months, for all her hopes are fixed upon her parent's house.'

5. Gopí Chand's first stage fell in the Plantain forest. At even mother Banspatí of the wood weepeth. The does of the forest wept, and as they heard it the leaves of the forest fell down. When she saw his form and appearance Banspatí opened (her flute) and played in the second watch after midnight. She felt pity for him. 'Great tigers and

\* अलमिया = अलम or आलम a support.

† ✓ भेलस means to settle upon, but the sentence in which भेलसेव occurs is quite unintelligible. The words are written exactly as the singer gave them, but even he did not know their meaning. The sentence might perhaps mean 'The bee (i. e. Gopí Chand) immediately on settling flew away,' as if he was only paying a short visit to his home. A reference to the introduction will show that this was the case.

‡ बसेड़ is literally 'a roosting place.'

city is six months' journey distant. Thou wilt die without food and water. The path to thy sister Birná is rough.' 'O mother, hear my prayer. In as many days as thou dost arrive there, my mother, in so many cause me also to arrive.' Banspatí taketh the form of a hawk, and uplifting him in the shape of a parrot, carrieth him to Birná's city.

6. He began his perambulation of the lanes, crying, 'May ye live, my charitable folk of the city. Show me the way to your king's doorway, then will I leave your company.\*'

forwards, and he found a sandal tree at the door of every one. He could not distinguish the doorway of the king from that of his subjects, though he went round them all. The village people said, 'Reverend Sir, stay with us. Every one of us will look after thy food.' But Gopí Chand said, 'O sisters and mothers of the village, show me the doorway of the king, for there will I stay. I cannot stay at the doorway of any of his subjects.'

'The turret is high, and the door is low. At the door is a dried up sandal tree. That is the king's doorway.'

7. The ascetic went before the sandal tree and lighteth his fire,† and, lo, the sandal tree flowered became fresh and green. From above his sister Birná is watching him, saying, 'I never saw a reverend ascetic like this before.' Quickly she calleth Mügiyá her

lions will devour him, before he seeth (i. e., if he trieth to see) his sister.' Said Gopí Chand, 'Let me die, or let me live, I will go to my sister's land.' Banspatí took pity on him. She turned Gopí Chand into a parrot, and herself into a swan, and in an hour and a watch set him down in his sister's land.

6. When Gopí Chand arrived at his sister's country, he applied ashes and burnt cowdung to his face, and hid his body beneath his ascetic's mantle. Through all the lanes went he backwards and

sisters and mothers of the village replied. 'The turret is high, and the door is low. The doorposts are of gold, and the doors of silver. There are there two she-elephants named Aurá and Bhaurá, and a sandal tree which hath been withered for twelve years.'

7. So Gopí Chand went to his sister's door, and lit his ascetic's fire below it, and the sandal tree which had been withered for twelve years became fresh and green. The king and the subjects of the village saw this. 'It is not a mere ascetic. This is some God;

\* सरनियाँ lit. protection.

† धूँई, an ascetic's fire.

maid-servant, 'Go my damsel, and ask his caste.' With folded hands the ascetic saith to her, 'Damsel, believe what I say. I am by caste a Chhatirí. Go thou and tell her that, and say "from his birth he hath been an ascetic of the highest degree (*siddha*)."' The damsel said 'Thou hast hidden thy caste, and hast done well.'

four behind her, in the midst doors of the window and beheld, and the other on the sandal tree. tree fresh and green, and fell in a faint.

8. Reverend sir; tell me what thou wantest to eat. Wilt thou eat cooked food of the king's house, or wilt thou eat milk and fruit ?\* 'For twelve years, O damsel, I have never burnt my hands (by cooking). I will eat cooked food of the king's house, if it come in the hand of the Bráhman Baruá, nor also will I eat that which hath been touched by a maid-servant. My virtue as a Chhatirí would be destroyed. New troubles hath Rám given me. It was written in my fate that I should be an ascetic.'

9. When she heard† these words the damsel went to give notice about the food, but she forgat.‡ She forgat also the other menial services, and no one paid attention to the food. At midnight the ascetic played his flute,

for, lo, the sandal tree which hath been withered for twelve years hath become fresh and green' Mū'gá (his sister's servant) said 'for the sake of the withered, withered, sandal tree, will I give the Bráhman food. The withered sandal hath become fresh and green. This is a wondrous ascetic.' With four companions in front of her, and came his sister. She opened the doors of the window and beheld. One glance fell upon the ascetic, The queen saw the withered sandal

8. The damsel Mū'gá came to ask him, 'O ascetic, what wilt thou eat? Of what food wilt thou partake, wilt thou eat of the Rájá's food ?' Gopí Chand replied, 'A new calamity hath God granted to me. As I watch the smoke, the tears flow from mine eyes. As I see the fire, blisters are rising on my body. Tell the king's Bráhman to offer me food, and then will I eat.'

9. But the damsel Mū'gá forgat to send the food amongst her other duties, and the Queen forgat to do so in her dressing and adorning of herself. Barú the Bráhman also forgat, as he ate his *bhang*. After a watch after midnight no one

\* फरहार, The meal of an ascetic who will not eat corn,—only fruit.

† सोनि = सुन कर के.

‡ भोली = भूल गई.

and the sound fell upon (the ear)  
of his sister Birná.

upon his flute. 'My sister hath, of surety, eaten and drunk. May my virtue increase by a fourth (if she hath not). She hath, of a surety eaten her meal and forgotten me. May all the food that is in the larder be burned to ashes. Then, even if she fill nine dishes, I will neither eat it, nor will my caste be affected (by accepting food from a maid-servant).' In the meantime his sister heard the sound of the flute.

10. Quickly she calls the damsel Mūgiyá saying 'An ascetic is fasting at the door. Quickly, O damsel, call the Bráhman boy, and tell him the state of affairs about the food.\* The damsel goeth and calleth the Bráhman. There were thirty-six dishes of thirty-six kinds (of food), not one was empty. She said, 'if thou desire, O Bráhman, thou canst feed a hundred princes. What difficulty is there about one ascetic ?'

11. The Bráhman washed his feet, and opened the larder, and, lo, all the food in the dishes was burnt to ashes.† The Bráhman boy thinketh in his mind, 'what a wonderful thing is this that hath come to pass.' By the damsel Mūgiyá he sent the burnt food‡ of those dishes saying, 'conceal the name of the king's palace. Say "it is the food of my poor hovel."' The damsel Mūgiyá took it away, saying, 'Ascetic, may fire seize thy luck. The food of the house of my king is burnt up.'

took care concerning his food. In the meantime Gopí Chand played

10. 'O Mū'gá, all in my village have eaten, and the ascetic is fasting.' Saith the damsel Mū'gá, 'what do I know?' She sent for Baruá the Bráhman and said to him, 'serve the food quickly to the ascetic.' Saith Baruá, 'what difficulty is there about one ascetic ? I can feed fifty-six hundred princes.'

11. He putteth on sandals of gold, and goeth and openeth the larder, and seeth that fire hath consumed the contents of the fifty-six dishes. If you were to squeeze out the contents of the fifty-six dishes, then only a fistful of burnt food would come out. Saith Baruá the Bráhman, 'O Mū'gá, give the ascetic his food.' Mū'gá was by caste an eater of broken food, but in her language she was intelligent. So she arrangeth cocoa-nuts, almonds, dates, raisins, and five

\* जैवन = जैवनार.

† खँगार, ashes.

‡ करैँदी = खँखोरी, the latter is the B. word. It means burnt food of any kind adhering to the bottom of a dish.

packets of betel. She placed them on a golden dish, and tyre and the burnt food in a saucer, and taking Ganges water started. 'Take, O reverend ascetic, this food. May fire seize your luck.' The night was pitch dark. Up rose Gopí Chand in distress of mind. In a golden gourd he took the water, and in the golden saucer the food.

12. When the ascetic heard the words of the damsel, he laughed, and the thirty-two teeth of his mouth gleamed. By their light he taketh the burnt food, saying, 'what hath my sister given me?' The king (*i. e.*, the ascetic) tieth up the burnt food in the corner of his garment, and eateth the ashes and dust of his fire.

13. Morning cometh, and the dawn beginneth. He batheth in his sister's tank. His cloth covereth the whole of his body, but the features of his face were not hidden. He mixeth ashes with water, applieth them (to his face), and standeth at his sister's doorway. He foldeth his hands and maketh supplication, 'O queen, give me alms. Then will I leave thy door.'

the sun rose he went to his sister's door, and asked for alms. 'May my sister's children live long, and cause her to be happy.'

14. The damsel Mū'gá gazed at his garments, and seeing the form and appearance of the ascetic went singing into the inner apartments. Saith she, 'O sister, as was thy brother Gopí Chand whom thou didst leave at home, such is the reverend ascetic.' 'Mū'gá, may I eat up thy brother and nephew! (*a form of abuse*). If it were my brother Gopí Chand who had come, then desolation itself would have been populated (with the crowd of his followers). (He would have taken with him) nine hundred horses, nine hundred elephants, nine hundred Mughal Paiṭháns, and nine hundred Paiṭhán princes.' Said the damsel Mū'gá, 'if thou wilt not come with me

12. The night was pitch dark and in order to see his food Gopí Chand smiled. It was night but thereby (through the flashing of his teeth) it became day. He opened his sheet and tied up the burnt food in his knot. He drew towards him his fire and mixed the ashes with water. He laid them upon five leaves, and behold it became the five different sorts (of food).

13. As morning cometh he batheth in the tank. He hideth his body under his garment, and applieth ashes and burnt cowdung to his face, that his sister should not recognize him, and that he might become as an ascetic. How the thirty-two teeth of Gopí Chand shine! How Gopí Chand deceiveth her! He had been all of one (dull grey) colour, but now (after bathing) his form became of eight colours. As

to see, I will buy a *damrī* or a *dokri*\* of poison and eat it and die.' (Saith sister Birná to herself) 'of low caste is she, and by caste an eater of broken food. If I go not at once, she will take a *damrī* of poison and die, and I will be guilty of a sin.' So she put on her father's ring, her mother's painted scarf, and her sister-in-law's bracelet.

She maketh a mixture\* of gold and silver, and goeth to give her brother alms. She sent it by the damsel Mügiyá, saying 'Ascetic, take thine alms.'

15. The ascetic with folded hands maketh supplication. 'O sister, who careth for pebbles and stones (like these jewels which thou dost offer me). Hadst thou given me old clothes, for me to make a beggar's cloth of, (it would have been better, what can I do with money?).' 'My maid-servants and damsels get my old clothes. I have no clothes old enough to tear. I swear a hundred hundred thousand times by my brother that I have no old clothes.' When his sister said this

Four companions went before her and four behind her. She took alms in a golden plate. 'Take, O Reverend ascetic, (these alms), and leave my door.'

15. 'I left all such pebbles and stones behind in my mother's house. If I take these pebbles and stones what can I do with them?' The sister replied 'I am offering him alms of gold and silver, and, lo, he hath turned them into pebbles and stones.' 'If thou hadst a shawl or double-shawl out of which I might make an ascetic's garment (I might take it.)' 'The reverend ascetic will take nothing. Take not so terrible a resolution (*literally* oath). O leave my door. I have no cloth worthy of thee.'

to him, he answered, 'may thy brother king Gopí Chand die. Why art thou† taking a false oath?' As he gave this curse the ascetic moved away, but his sister caught him by the cloth and detained him. 'I will tear my royal robes and give thee a cloth. Why dost thou curse my brother. I call upon thy Guru a hundred hundred thousand times. Mayst thou be ashamed of having drunk thy mother's milk. Why hast thou cursed my brother?'

16. The ascetic clasbeth his hand and giveth information about himself. 'Rájá Raghubansi liveth in Banká. I am grandson of

\* खिचड़ी lit. a mixture of *dál* and rice, hence of any yellow and white things.

† खाएँ ज 2nd pret.

\* Two small coins.

Tirlokí Singh. I am the son of Bhawandá Singh. O blind sister, I am thine own\* brother. In thy good fortune thou hast become blind. Thou didst not recognize thine† own brother.'

16. When Gopí Chand heard this, he said, 'thou hast obtained wealth, and forgotten me. Dost thou not know thine own brother, born from the same womb as thou. I am thine own brother of thy father's house.'

17. When she heareth this, his sister saith, 'Hear, O Damsel, my words. This man is not worthy to be my brother. Twelve hundred princes are servants in my father's palace. This ascetic is one of them. He knoweth the names of my brother and my father. If my brother Gopí Chand had come, four hundred Tájí and Turkí horses would have come out with him. The dust would have flown (to the skies) on account of his elephants. Who would (be able to) count the number of his foot-soldiers? Desolate cities would be re-populated by them, if my brother Gopí Chand had come. There

is the mark of a pen‡ on my brother's hand.' (She saith to the ascetic), 'How much *Tilak*§ did my brother give (my husband)? How much dowry did he give?' 'O sister, I gave a hundred hundred thousand *Ashrafis* as a *Tilak*

17. 'I will know thee as my brother, if thou wilt tell me what presents I got at my marriage.' Saith Gopí Chand, 'behold, thy father's ring is shining (on your finger), and thy mother's painted scarf, and thy sister-in-law's bracelet.'

and the elephant Bhāwará at the *Duár Pújá*; I gave carts and waggons laden with gold. Who can count the brass vessels|| I gave. I did not sum up the account of the cash I expended. My wife's bracelet shineth on thy wrist. My father's ring gleameth on thy finger. Thou art wearing a checked cloth of thy father's house.¶

\* सग = सहोदर.

† उदरौ = सहोदर.

‡ *I. e.* He is a scholar, and knows how to write.

§ Regarding *Tilak* and *Duár Pújá*, see *Bijai Mal*, *vs.* 104, & ff.

|| कँसहँड = काँसा + हाँडा.

¶ बाड़िस, ✓ बाट. चित रङ्ग, = चित्र रङ्ग. Compare चित सरिया in the song of *Bijai Mal*, *vs.* 576. In the *Magahí* version of this poem (paras. 15 and 18) the word is चिट सारौ a checked robe. In *Bijai Mal*, however, the phrase is said to mean a painted room.

18. When his sister heard these words she ran as a calf that hath broken loose runneth towards its mother. The brother and sister embraced, and all the leaves of the forest fell down (out of emotion). 'I would make and give my brother food, then would I ask him news of my father's house.

Hath a Nawáb General invaded and snatched away thy kingdom ? I will equip an army and send it against him, and rescue thy kingdom from him.' 'No, sister. No Nawáb General hath invaded and

taken my kingdom. It was written in my fate that I should be an ascetic. I will not eat food, O sister, at thy hand. Now my hand is empty.\* Sister Birná, look at the food (which was given me) last night. What didst thou give me. My luck was burnt, and thou didst show unto mine eyes† burnt food. The burden‡ hath been removed from thy city.' The ascetic untied and showed the burnt food to his sister, and then her heart burst and she died.

18. When his sister Birná heard this, she caught him by his garment, crying, 'my mother is deserted,\* and my brother hath today become an ascetic. Sit down, sit down, O brother, on the silk-covered throne, and let me send for all the wealth of the world and give it to thee.'

'At thy door, O sister, what can I do ? If I had two or three pice I would have bought bangles and given them to thee.†' Then said her husband's mother and sister. 'Last night didst thou eat of food which had been touched by the hand of Mū'gá. And now that thou hast been recognized, thou dost obstinately persist (in refusing to accept our hospitality)'. When his sister Birná heard what things and of what kind he had eaten, and when she saw, in the knot of his sheet, the burnt food, she cried, 'woe is me', and died.

\* He reproaches her with her scurvy treatment of him, when she thought he was a Jogi. कुँकुँ means 'empty.' In regard to food, and especially rice, it idiomatically means 'plain,' e. g. कुँकुँ भात खाईँ, 'Am I to eat rice and nothing else ?'

† खोरिया = खँखोरी.

‡ I. e., a beggar is like a burden to the city, and this is the way you have tried to get rid of him.

\* बिरागिन is a corruption of बियागिन.

† A brother is by custom always bound to give his sister a present when leaving her house after a visit.

19. King Gopí Chand considereth in his heart, the words of my mother have come true. He draweth from his waistband knives and daggers, and putteth them to his throat. But God above seized and stopped him, saying, 'Why, O my ascetic, dost thou kill thyself. There is ambrosia in thy finger.' So he split his finger and gave his sister (ambrosia) to drink (and she came to life again). Then the ascetic went off on his wanderings.

19. (Saith Gopí Chand to himself), 'Let me strike myself with knife and dagger, and let the brother die in the place of his sister.' Then up came Náráyána in the form of a Bráhman, and caught hold of him, crying, 'Ho, sinful one, in thy little finger is ambrosia. Give it to thy sister to drink ; and thy dead sister will come to life ; and do thou take the form of a bee, and go away and be an ascetic.' (Here the sister is supposed to come to life, and Gopí Chand to go away.)

20. His sister arose and sat up. Through every lane she wept. She caught the sandal tree and wept ; and the sandal tree replied, 'Why dost thou weep ? Thy brother hath become an ascetic.' Then cried the sister, 'woe is me', and the earth opened and she entered into it (and was swallowed up by it). And thus was broken the relationship of brother and sister between these two.

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On some more Copper Coins of Akbar.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, Principal, Normal College, Amritsar.

(With a Plate.)

When in 1881 I wrote a paper on the Copper Coins of Akbar, it was with much diffidence that I put forward any views of my own. Those views were in fact only deductions from the coins I had before me. Mr. Thomas in a short but friendly paper opposed my deductions. He corrected the reading of one coin from *dám* to *damrá*. I need not say that I knew the inscription would bear this interpretation. I had, however, never seen this word in any books on Indian coins, not even in Mr. Thomas's most exhaustive treatises. I quite agree with him that a *damrá* may be two *damrís*. I was attacked somewhat personally by an anonymous writer in the *Pioneer* who evidently had not been guilty of such patient research as myself. He said Akbar never struck coins bearing the word *tánke*. A look at my plates must have upset his unfounded assertion.

I have, however, to plead guilty of making another mistake. I read a word on several coins as *sikka*. This word, General Cunningham has

kindly pointed out to me, should be *tankah*. I quite agree with this correction and am very thankful to the General for the kind manner in which he brought it to my notice. One other reading was also corrected. Here my coin was in fault. I read it *Zarb-i-Illahábás*. On the plainest coins it is certainly *Muhr-i-Illahábás*. It is seldom perhaps so many mistakes are made in one paper. I can only plead the fact that I was busy in making preparations for my furlough and that I had not time to consult my more learned and experienced fellow-numismatists. None, however, of my critics give me credit for introducing to notice so many novelties. A careless perusal of my short paper will show that I proved the *fulús* to be a coin of uncertain weight, that I gave a *yak tánke*, a *do tánke*, a *damrá*, a *damrí* and several *tankahs* besides the coins of several mints up to that time unpublished and of several up to that time unknown. This I mention to show that my paper was not without some value in spite of its faults. Since 1881, I have kept up my researches and am able now to give a new series of coins which I shall leave to speak for themselves.

The coins I have drawn are all of pure copper. Some are very thick as will be seen from the plate where the two lines under the coins indicate their thickness. The weight of each is given under it in grains.

They are as follows (see Plate I) :—

(1.) <i>Obv.</i>	ضرب بیرات تندکه اکبر شاهی	<i>Rev.</i>	اردی بهشت ۱۵ الهی
(2.) <i>Obv.</i>	Ditto	<i>Rev.</i>	اسفندار می ۱۴ الهی
(3.) <i>Obv.</i>	ضرب بیراته ذیم تندکه اکبر شاهی	<i>Rev.</i>	خورداد ۱۴ الهی
(4.) <i>Obv.</i>	Ditto	<i>Rev.</i>	ماه قیصر ۱۴ الهی
(5.) <i>Obv.</i>	چهارم حصہ تندکه اکبر شاهی	<i>Rev.</i>	ضرب آگرہ اسفندر می ۱۵ الهی
(6.) <i>Obv.</i>	هشتم حصہ تندکه اکبر شاهی	<i>Rev.</i>	ماه ابان ۱۶ الهی
(7.) <i>Obv.</i>	دهم حصہ تندکه اکبر شاهی	ضرب دہلی شانز	ماه فروردین ۱۴۲ الهی
(8.) <i>Obv.</i>	ditto (without mint)	<i>Rev.</i>	ماه قیصر ۱۴۳ الهی
(9.) <i>Obv.</i>	same as (7)	<i>Rev.</i>	ماه مهر ۱۴۶ الهی
(10.) <i>Obv.</i>		نصفی	<i>Rev.</i>
(11.) <i>Obv.</i>		نصفی	<i>Rev.</i>
(12.) <i>Obv.</i>	ضرب — تندکه اکبر شاهی	<i>Rev.</i>	خورداد ۱۴ الهی
(13.) <i>Obv.</i>	مهرالهاباس	<i>Rev.</i>	سده ۱۳ الهی
(14.) <i>Obv.</i>	یک تندکه اکبر شاهی	<i>Rev.</i>	ضرب کابل اسفندر می ۱۶ الهی

Of these coins Nos. 1, 2, 12 are the property of my venerable and kind friend General Cunningham, No. 11 is from an impression by the same gentleman at Lucknow in 1840, and given to me some years back.

No. 3 is the property of Dav. Ross, Esq., C. I. E., M. R. A. S., &c. Traffic Manager Sind, Panjab and Delhi Railway. No. 14 belongs to L. White King, Esq., C. S., a most indefatigable numismatist. The remainder are from my own poor cabinet.

By comparing this list of coins with that published in my former paper, it will be seen that of Akbar's Copper Coins we have, now, knowledge of the following:—

		weights in grains.
The one tánke	یک تانکے	59
The two tánke	دو تانکے	108, 109.
The one tanké	یک تانکے	58.8.
The damrí	دمری	40.
The damrá	دمرا	76.
The fulús	فلوس	326, 149, 38, 37.
The mohur	مہر	316.
The tankah	تندکہ اکبر شاہی	618, 620, 623.4, 626.
The half tankah	نیم تندکہ	317.5, 309.
The fourth part of the tankah	چہارم حصہ تندکہ	153.1.
The eighth part ditto	ہشتم حصہ تندکہ	39.5.
The sixteenth part ditto	شانزدہ ہم حصہ تندکہ	37.5, 38.5.
The nisfe	نصف	154.5.

I know of only one one-*tánke* piece and of only one one-*tanke* piece both of which are given in my papers, and neither of which belongs to me. I have seen only one *nisfe* and one-fourth part of a *tankah* and one eighth part. Sixteenth parts are common. I have about a dozen of them. The *tankah* is as rare as it is large. The halves are still rarer. The two given in my paper are the only ones I have yet seen. The cabinets of other numismatists and of museums may contain others. Of the *mohur* one specimen is published by the Honorable Syud Ahmad, C. S. I., in his edition of the *Aín-i-Akbarí*. But in a conversation I had the other day with him, he disputed this reading, and was inclined to my former reading *zarb*.

I am not going to bring forward any views of my own on this occasion, or make any deductions from the coins. I will simply quote a letter sent me by General Cunningham, after we had discovered the *tankah* and its parts, and thus fixed the weight of this coin.

Simla, 5th July, 1883.

My dear Rodgers,

Ever since we got the Tanka of Akbar *fixed* I have been thinking of Akbar's revenues, and at last I *think* that I see some light.

Thomas began his reasoning with an assumption that “there can be very little contest about the value of Nizám-ud-Dín’s pieces designated as *Tankah-i-Murádí*.” He takes them to be the same as the old Sikandarí tanka of twenty to the rupee (p. 7, Akbar’s Revenues) which is certainly wrong. He *assumes* that they were so; but gives no proofs, nor even any arguments.

Now let us examine the facts:—

De Laët gives Akbar’s revenue on Jahángir’s accession in two forms: thus:—

VI. Arab et 98 caror Dám.
or III. Arab et 49 caror *Tangarum*.

Now here is a new proof of 1 Tanga = 2 Dáms.

Arabs kross tákhhs.

Abul Fazl’s collected amounts	come to	5, 67, 63	83, 383	dáms.
Nizám-ud-Dín’s statement	...	6, 40, 00	00, 000	murádí tankas.
De Laët’s statement	...	6, 98, 00	00, 000	dáms.

Put in this way it seems clear to me that Nizám-ud-Dín’s *murádí tankas*, are the common dáms of Akbar. I do not understand the name of *Murádí*, but I think it possible that there may be a mistake in this name; and for the following reason:—

I have two copper coins of Akbar, like your No. 15,—but both of them used *muhr* instead of *zarb*. *Muhr-i-Ilahábás*, the stamp or coin of *Ilahábás*. (See No. 13 of my present plate, which I have drawn from a perfect coin of my own two, illustrate this portion of General Cunningham’s letter.) The name of the coins would then become *Muhráwí*, and hence I take them to be the real pieces intended by the corrupt name of *Murádí*. Can you refer to any MS. of the *Tabaqát-i-Akbarí*?

Had Nizám-ud-dín intended the *tankas* of Akbar, there was no necessity for calling them by any other name than simply *tankas*, as written on the coins themselves. But as *dám* was a new name, introduced by Akbar himself, it seems highly probable that the coins of the same weight as Akbar’s *dáms* were previously known as *tankas* with some qualifying title. (In fact Sher Sháh’s 320 grain coins were *called* *tánkas*.)

(By the way my two heavy (640 grain) tankahs of Akbar are not from your Dehli mint but from Bairát, as I read the name—I will of course send them to you.)

Now as to Akbar’s revenue. Turn to Thomas, p. 52 and add up Sháh Jahán’s revenues from the same provinces as Akbar held. The

total is 18 krors + 50 lacs of rupees. Now compare the progressive revenues in krors and lakhs of rupees.

	Krors lakhs.
Akbar	Abul Fazl 14, 97
	Nizám-ud-Dín 16, 00
	De Laët 17, 45
	Sháh Jahán 18, 50
Same provinces	
Sháh Jahán later	22, 00
Aurangzeb	26, 74
Ditto	35, 64
Ditto	38, 62
Ditto	30, 17 after loss of provinces.

Now these figures of progressive revenue show uncontestedly that Akbar's revenue could not have been more than 16 krors,—and the double statement of De Laet, in *tankas* and *dáms*, is specially clear and serves to fix the value of Nizám-ud-Dín's *Murádí tankas* as simple *Akbarí dáms*.

I am,

very sincerely yours,

A. Cunningham.

I, on my own part, would only draw attention to the fact that these *tankahs* of Akbar, and the different parts of the same coin, seem to have been all struck in the last ten years of his reign, between 40 and 50 Iláhí. The weight of the *عاصي* seems to make it as a *half dám*. At the same time I must say I have never yet seen a coin with the name *dám* on it. The Honorable Syud Ahmad told me he had seen one.

From the weights given above, it would seem that the *tankah* weighed about 640 grs. The half 320, the quarter 160, the eighth part 80, the sixteenth part 40. Against this, however, we have the weights of two coins published in my former paper Nos. 18 and 19 of Gobindpúr and Dogám which are called *tankahs* and weigh 327 and 319 grains. The Bairát* *tankahs* and *half tankahs*, the Agra *quarter* and the Delhi

* For interesting facts regarding *Bairát*, see the Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. II, pp. 342-6, and Vol. VI, pp. 91-103. It was famous for its copper mines. I am ignorant of the position of *Dogám*. There are several *Gobindpurs*. We want sadly a *Historical Geography of the Muhammadan period*. Conquerors changed the names of places. The names remained for a time and were allowed then to fall into disuse. Thus *Adúní* was called by Aurangzeb *Imtiyázgurh*. Rupees were struck bearing this latter name. I have seen several though I possess none. I should like to know where *Alamgípúr* is, and a lot of other places.

sixteenth parts, however, show that in other parts of the empire there was one acknowledged standard weight for the *tankah*.

I do not intend this paper as an answer to the kind papers of Mr. Thomas and Mr. Keene. It is rather an apology for my former paper and its mistakes, and is intended as an additional contribution to our knowledge of Akbar's copper coinage. I do not know the date of the completion of the *Aín-i-Akbarí*, but in it a very incomplete account is given of Akbar's copper coinage. Our cabinets, however, provide us with coins of the whole reign from the 963 year coins of Nárnol to the 50th Iláhí year coins of Agra. It remains for historians and revenue officers to discuss the matter in the light these new coins give.

I may add that the *Aín Akbarí* gives many subdivisions of the rupee of Akbar, and that as my cabinet contains specimens of each piece, I shall, if I can find time, give a plate of these subdivisions.

P. S. Since the above was in press I have visited Agra, Muttra and Delhi and have obtained two Agra *tankahs*; several *ním tankaks*, one of Agra; two *chhárumb hissa i tankahs*, and one Kábul *do tanke* piece. All these tend to confirm what I have advanced in this paper.

Some Coins of Ranjít Deo, king of Jummú a hundred years ago.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, Principal, Normal College, Amritsar.

(With a Plate.)

In the first year of the present century Ranjít Singh "the Lion of the Panjáb" conquered Lahore. For many years after that event, he was so constantly engaged in subduing the whole of the cities and states of the Panjáb that his name and fame seem to have hidden altogether the name of a better man who bore the name of Ranjít Deo and who ruled in the hill state of Jummú or Jummún as we shall see from coins.

Writing of Jummú, Mr. Frederick Drew in "The Northern Barrier of India"** says: "A century ago the old regime was flourishing under Rája Ranjít Deo; he is still spoken of with the highest respect as a wise administrator, a just judge, and a tolerant man. At that time the direct rule of the Jummú Rája hardly extended so much as twenty miles from the city; but he was lord of a number of feudatory chiefs, of such places as Akhnúr, Dalpatpúr, Kiramchí and Jasrotá, all in the outer Hill tract, chiefs who governed their own subjects, but paid tribute to and did military service for, their liege lord of Jummú.

* Chapter III, pp. 40, 41.

“During a portion of the year they would be present at that city, attending the court of the ruler and holding separate ones themselves. At this day various spots in the town are remembered where each of these tributaries held its court on a minor scale. Doubtless there was some petty warfare, resulting sometimes in an extension and sometimes in a contraction of the power of the central ruler; but usually the chiefs were more occupied in sport than in serious fighting, and, in fact, the various families had continued in nearly the same relative positions for great lengths of time.”

“From the time of Ranjít Deo’s death the fortunes of Jummú became more dependent than before on the world outside the rugged hills, the result being a change in, and at length almost a complete break-up of, the old system of government.”

Mr. Drew does not tell us when Ranjít Deo ascended the throne or when he died. He adds in a foot note “Ranjít Singh was of the Jat caste, and was in no way connected with Ranjít Deo or with any of the Dogra tribe.” We learn, however, from the “History of the Panjab,”* Vol. I, p. 219, that in 1762 A. D. Ahmad Sháh Durrání after almost annihilating the Sikhs in an engagement near Ludhiana, a disaster “characterized in Sikh tradition as the *ghulu ghara* or bloody carnage,” “his attention was turned towards Kashmír where his governor Súkh Jewan had for nine years conducted the administration without remitting any portion of the revenues to the royal treasury. The co-operation of Ranjít Deo, Rája of Jummú, having been secured, with some difficulty, a strong detachment was sent from Lahore, under the command of Núr-ud-Dín, and the Rája conducted it across the Pír Panjál mountains into the valley, which submitted after a slight resistance. Súkh Jewan being made a prisoner was punished with the loss of his eyes. Ahmad Sháh, having made these arrangements to secure his territory east of the Indus, returned to Kábul at the end of the year 1762 A. D.”

The same writer tells us on p. 237,—“The Hill Rája of Jummú Ranjít Deo, had a misunderstanding with his eldest son, Brij Ráj, and desired to set aside his pretensions to the succession in favour of the youngest, Míán Dulel Singh. In order to secure his hereditary rights, Brij Ráj broke into rebellion, and applied to Charat Singh,† offering a large yearly tribute, on condition of his aiding to depose his father. Charat Singh having an old enmity against Ranjít Deo, closed with the offer, and strengthening himself by association with Jai Singh of the Ghanía Misl, their united forces marched into the hills, and encamped at

* London, Wm. H. Allen and Co., 1846.

† The father of Máká Singh and grandfather of Ranjít Singh.

Udhachar, on the banks of the Basantar river. The Rája having timely notice of the designs of the heir-apparent, had made corresponding preparations for resistance. The defence of the capital he reserved to himself, but collected a force to oppose the invasion, composed of auxiliaries from Chamba, Núrpúr, Basehar, and Kángra, in the hills, to which were added, besides a party of his own troops, the confederated forces of the Bhangí Misl, under Jhandá Singh, whom he induced to lend his services in the extremity. The two armies lay encamped on opposite sides of the Basantar, and in a partial skirmish between the Sikh auxiliaries Charat Singh was killed by the bursting of his own matchlock.

He was 45 years of age, and had risen from a common Dharwí or highway man, to be Sardár of a separate Misl, with a territory computed to yield about three lakhs of rupees. He left a widow, Desan by name, with two sons and a daughter, called respectively Máhá Singh, Subuj Singh and Ráj Kanwar. The eldest son, Máhá Singh, then ten years of age, succeeded to the Sardári; but the widow and Jai Singh Ghanía assumed the immediate direction of affairs. It was determined by them to assassinate Jhandá Singh Bhangía, who was the mainstay of the Jummú Rája's party, and the avowed enemy of both the Sukar Chakía and Ghanía Misls. A sweeper was tempted by a large bribe to undertake this hazardous enterprise, and he succeeded in effecting his purpose by firing at, and mortally wounding the Bhangí chief, as he was walking unattended through the Jummú camp. The Sukar Chakía and Ghanía Sikhs being satisfied with the revenge thus taken, withdrew soon after from the enterprise in which they had been engaged. The Bhangí troops had simultaneously left the opposite camp on the death of their chief. Thus Brij Ráj Deo was left alone to settle with his father, his rights of inheritance to the Ráj: before the departure of Máhá Singh, however, he went through the ceremony of an exchange of turbans with Brij Ráj, which bound him to brotherhood for life. These events occurred in 1774 A. D."

Rái Kanhiyá Lál, Bahádúr, in his Urdú History of the Panjáb, Lahore, 1877, gives some further particulars (p. 119) of this matter. He says that in those days the city of Jummú was regarded as the abode of peace and safety, that bankers and merchants had fled from the Sikh-spoiled plains of the Panjáb and had taken refuge in Jummú where Ranjít Deo was too strong for the Sikhs to attempt anything against him. He gives the name of the battle as Dású-suhára in the government of Zafarwál. The sweeper, he says, was a Muzhabí khidmatgár. (The Mazhabís* are sweepers, but they have always been an honoured

* The word *mazhabí* means religious.

and trusted people since 1675 A. D., in which year some sweepers rescued the mutilated body of the Gúru Tegh Bahádur from the streets of Dehlí where it had been exposed by Aurangzeb. We have several regiments of Mazhabí Sikhs in our Indian army at the present day, and their deeds in arms show that “trust breeds trust.”) He adds that Ranjít Deo gave Jai Singh 150,000 rupees for the assistance he had rendered. But here as in other places he gives us no clue as to when the event happened. There is a dispute as to whether this affair took place in 1771 or 1774. The latter date seems to be supported by the best authorities. The histories of Kashmír that I have consulted say nothing at all about Ranjít Deo.

Jummú figures little in history after this. In 1812 A. D., Ranjít Singh, although busy with his plans for obtaining the Koh-i-Núr diamond from the blind refugee Sháh Zamán, found time for making arrangements for the conquest of the hill states south of the Kashmír valley. Jummú was captured by his newly married son Kharrak Singh, says Cunningham in his History of the Sikhs. Kanhiyá Lál says* that Díwán Bhawání Dás took Jummú from the Pahári Dográ Dédó in an expedition which lasted only one month. He also tells us† that Kasúr Singh the father of the three brothers who made such a figure in the court of Ranjít Singh,—Dhyán Singh, Guláb Singh and Suchet Singh—was a descendant of the Rájas of Jummú. In Macgregor’s History of the Sikhs, Vol. I, p. 168,‡ we read “During this year (1812), Bhái Rám Singh, who was the Peshkár of Kharrak Singh, received Jummú in jagír.” From these three somewhat different accounts we may learn that Jummú was conquered by the Lion of the Panjáb in 1812.

In the Urdú Tárikh-i-Makhazan-i-Panjáb by Gulám Sarwar published by Nawwal Kishore we have without dates a genealogical table which is interesting although I cannot vouch for its correctness, and which is given at the end of this paper.

The author tells us that in the time of Brij Ráj Deo matters were in the greatest confusion in Jummú. He does not tell us whether he had any family or not. The Dográ Rája Dédó mentioned by Kanhiyá Lál may be his son. I regret that I can give no dates and so little information about Ranjít Deo. I think, however, that I have shown who he was and the position that he held in the Panjáb at a time when its history is little known. The time in which he lived was one of utter lawlessness, yet his little state was the abode of peace and safety (امان).

The Afghán Ahmad Sháh had overrun the Panjáb.

* Urdú History of the Panjáb, p. 209.

† *Ibid.*, p. 259.

‡ London, James Madden 1846.

The Sikh Misls, twelve in number, were then rising into power, and as each one rose, it strove to overpower all the others. In Dehlí, a blind king was on the throne, and his servants misruled the country on their own account, and murdered each other according to their own sweet wills. Nevertheless during all this misrule, the coins of the empire were struck in the name of that blind king Sháh Álam II. I have rupees of every year of his struck in Dehlí and other places, and he reigned 49 years. Some time ago I obtained a rupee of his 24th year. The inscriptions on it are (see plate I, fig. 1.)

Obv. شاہ عالم بادشاہ غازی ۱۱۹۶ مکہ
Rev. ضرب دارالامان جموں سنه جلوس میہمنت ماذوس ۲۶

This coin I attribute to Ranjít Deo. It was struck as we see at Jummoo in the name of Sháh Álam. The year is that of the Hejirah, and the year of the reign corresponds. Sháh Álam's rupee of the 1st year is dated 1174. But he may be said to have commenced his reign in 1172. The Dehlí rupee I have of his 23rd year is dated 1195 A. H. This Jummoo rupee of the 24th year is dated 1196 A. H. The 26th year is 1197, the 27th 1199, and the 28th 1200. So that this Jummoo rupee takes its place in quite a correct manner in the list.

It will be noticed how the title of the city “*Dár-ul-Amán*” the “*Gate of safety*” agrees with the description of its condition under Ranjít Deo as given above by Rai Kanhiyá Lál.

Whether Ranjít Deo acknowledged the sovereignty of Dehlí or not, I cannot say. His rupee has on it the name of the nominal suzerain of India, a name found on all the coins of the East India Company and on coins struck at Muhammadábád (Benares), Indarpúr, Mustaqir-ul-Khiláfat Agra, Ahmadnagar Farrukhábád, Murádábád, Dehlí, Muhammadnagar, Dár-ul-Barakát, Dár us Sarúr Sahárampúr, Najíbábád, Barellí, Lutfábád Barellí, Tírath Hurdwár, Muzaffargarh, Arcot, Maheswar (= Maisore). I have not yet found a coin of Sháh Álam II struck in Lahore or in any mint of the Panjáb proper. As I showed in my paper on “The Coins of the Sikhs,” the Sikh Commonwealth commenced striking rupees in A. D. 1765, a practice which they continued with few interruptions under their many rulers up to A. D. 1849, in Lahore, Amritsar, Multán, Pesháwar, Kashmír, &c.

However shortly after this in the 27th year of Sháh Álam II, we find Ranjít Deo striking coins at Jummú in his own name, on which he uses the Sambat year, but strange to say, still retains the year of the reign of Sháh Álam, and on which he places the symbol of imperial power—the umbrella—so frequently occurring on the coins of that suzerain.

See Plate I, fig. 2.

Obv. I can't decipher this

رنجیت دیو آباد کرد (پ not present).
سبت ۱۸۴۱

Rev.

ضرب دارالامان جوں سنہ
جلوس میمنت مانوس

fig. 3.

Obv. Same as fig. 2, but with addition of حار below which word is in full.

Rev. Same as No. 2, but year ۱۸

fig. 4. *Obv.* and *Rev.* same as fig. 3 with variations.

1196 A. H. corresponds with 1781 A. D., and is on the coin the 24th year of Sháh Álam. The Samvat year 1841 corresponds with 1784 A. D., and is on the coins the 27th and 28th years of Sháh Álam. These coins therefore were struck about 10 years after the disagreement Ranjít Deo had with his son. They are the only coins of Ranjít Deo I have yet met with during many years of continuous search. They show us what valuable aid coins may give us in unravelling and illustrating history.

Of the title of the city of Jammú found on the coins, دارالامان Dár ul-Amán, we may incidentally remark that the same title is found on some of Humáyun's anonymous coins struck at *A'gra*. It was also the title given to *Multán* more because of the rhyme than the reason. We find it on the rupees of Aurangzeb and his successors, and also on the coins of the Sikhs struck at *Multán*. The strong fort of this place may, however, often have afforded shelter to the people of the western Panjáb where it was the only stronghold of any size or importance.

The numbers under the coins indicate their weight in grains. Five rupees struck at five different Indian mints of Sháh Álam average I find 171.3 grs. So that the Jummú rupees had nothing to do with the old silver coinage of Kashmír but were coins of the Empire, over which Sháh Álam exercised nominal sovereignty.

Since writing the above I have had lent me "A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore with some account of the Jummoo Rajáhs" by Major G. Carmichael Smyth, Calcutta, W. Thacker and Co., 1847, a book published by subscription and now very rare. The author supplies what no one of the authorities I quote from gave me the *dates*. Ranjít Deo was born in 1724 A. D. He ascended the throne in 1742 and reigned "in peace and prosperity till 1780 A. D. when he died."

The only matter not noticed by the authorities I have used, but described by Major Smyth is that Ranjít Deo was imprisoned by the governor of Lahore from 1749 to 1760 A. D., when he escaped on a horse no one could tame except himself. After visiting his mountain home, however, he returned to Lahore and to captivity, but the governor was so much struck with this noble conduct he allowed him to return to Jummú.

P.S.—I have just obtained some more specimens of the coins of Ranjít Deo. From a comparison of five I am able to complete the deciphering of the inscription on the obverse. It is as follows :—

خانہ رنجیت دیو آباد کرد
چھپی نراین دل شاد کرد

which may be literally translated thus :—

Ranjít Deo peopled this part, Lachmí Naráín made glad its heart.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE (see p. 63).

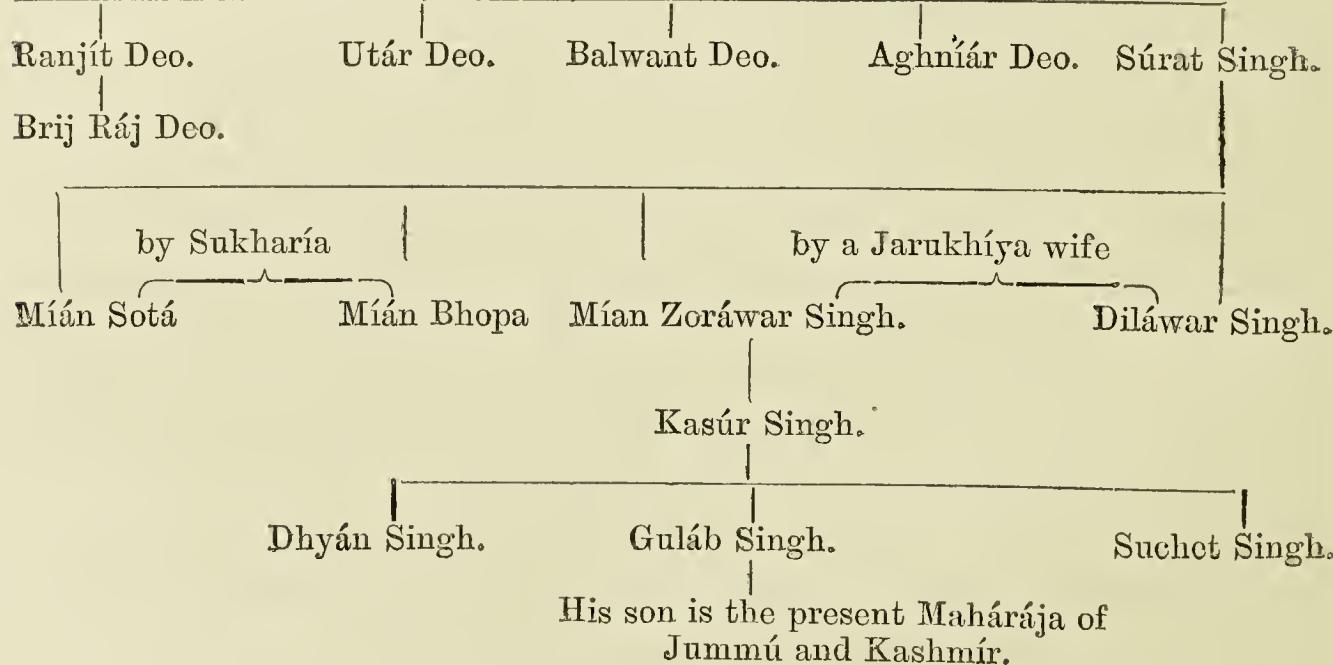
Sárang Deo.

↓
Bál Deo.

↓
Gujá Singh.

↓
Deví Deo.

↓
Dharat Deo.



The Coins of Ahmad Sháh Abdállí or Ahmad Sháh Durráni.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS, Principal, Normal College, Amritsar.

(With Plate II.)

The Panjáb, the Border land of India has been invaded oftener than any other country in the whole world. The more than dozen incursions of Mahmúd of Gazní, the five or six of Muhammad Gorí, the terrible visitation of Taimúr, the plundering expedition of the execrable Nádir, and the frequent invasion of Ahmad Sháh the conquerors of the Mahrattas at Pánípat were all borne by the Panjáb. Scarcely any other part of India suffered from them, or if they did, the Panjáb suffered both before and after. No good accrued to any province of India from any one of these inflictions. The work done by each of these scourges was one of destruction and not of construction. No public works attest the presence of these mighty ones in India. And yet each one has left behind him some sign of his hated though short rule. Mr. Thomas has edited the coins struck in India by Mahmúd and his successors, and those of Muhammad Gorí. I myself edited in a late paper the only known Indian coin of Tímúr, a miserable copper damrí. In my late furlough I edited the coins which Nádir Sháh struck during his short and disastrous visit to Dehlí. I propose in the present paper to give a short account of the coins which the successor of Nádir Sháh,—Ahmad Sháh Abdállí struck in India. If we bear in mind that the striking of coins in India is a prerogative of royalty, and one which has always been exercised the moment a man sat on the throne; moreover if we remember that the mint was carried with the royal camp,* we shall at once see that if we collect specimens of each year and of each mintage, we shall have a chronological account of the events of the reign in coins: we shall also see the expansion of each king's rule or otherwise.

Ahmad Sháh invaded India several times. On each occasion he struck coins. If in a place only a few days, the numismatic records are not silent about the visit. The king may have been dominant before his coming and after he had gone. But during the time the invader stayed, he coined. Hence we often have coins struck in one year at the same place by the conquering and the conquered ruler. This it is which lends interest to the coins of Ahmad Sháh Durráni. They are not old. But they are becoming rarer every day. Indeed it is seldom they are now met with. As they are the only relics of the man who

* I have lately become possessed of a dirham of Báber's struck in the camp (Urdú زافر). Urdú Zafar Qarín is a common mint of Akbar's.

saved us the trouble of destroying the Mahrattas, and as they illustrate his movements in India so exactly, I have deemed it worthy of me as a numismatist to rescue the coins from oblivion and the inevitable melting-pot.

Ahmad Sháh was no relative of Nádir Sháh. He was by birth of the Abdállí tribe and was probably born at Multán. The Abdállí tribe trace their origin to a descendant of Abraham named Qís who flourished in the time of Muhammad, and who embraced the doctrines of Islám. I do not think this the place to go further into this matter. Suffice it to say, that Ahmad Sháh was the most trusted of all the members of the court of Nádir. Nádir was not happy with respect to his own children. During his lifetime he is said to have told Ahmad Khán that after his death, he would be king.

Nádir Sháh was slain by his officers on the 11th of Jamádí-ul-Ákhir 1160 A. H. The next day Ahmad Khán defeated the conspirators, and possessing himself of all the treasure of his murdered master, fled to Kandahár. There is a story told by the historian of Ahmad Sháh that, when Ahmad had performed two days' journey towards Kandahár, a faqír named Sábir Sháh with whom he had been previously intimate, approached him and said "Now Ahmad Sháh you are indeed king." When the king said that he had not yet been crowned, the faqír making a platform of earth led the king to it, and taking some grass put it on his head, saying, "This platform is your throne and this grass your crown. I proclaim you king by the name of Ahmad Sháh Durráni." This name the king adopted instead of his former tribal name Abdállí. Durr is a pearl. Ahmad on some of his coins styles himself Durr-i-Durrán the pearl of pearls. This Sábir Sháh at first stayed with Ahmad, but being sent on a message to Lahore, he was there murdered.

Arriving in Kandahár Ahmad Sháh was formally crowned. He ordered coins to be struck bearing the following couplet:—

حکم شہزاد از قادر بیچون باحمد شاہ
سکہ زن بور سیم وزر از او ج ماهی تا بجا

Immediately afterwards we find him on his way through Gazní to Kábul which he reduced, and afterwards he obtained possession of Pesháwar, whence he returned to Kandahár. Settling his affairs there and hastily collecting an army of about 12,000 horse with which he entered the Panjáb, he was before Lahore, ere the letter containing an account of his invasion had reached Dehlí. The Governor of Lahore fled, and all the arsenal fell into the conqueror's hands. He did not let the grass grow under his feet. Meanwhile the worn-out Mogul Muhammad Sháh sent his son and prime minister Qamar-ud-Dín to

dispute his progress. The armies met at Málúpúr, six kos from Sarhind. There were skirmishes for several days, during one of which the prime minister Qamar-ud-Dín was killed. In a general engagement which ensued, the Afgháns bethought them of some rockets they had found at Lahore. They essayed to use them against the enemy, but unfortunately they did not know how to discharge them. Instead therefore of injuring their foes, they hurt themselves, for they put the rockets in the wrong way. The Durráni army being thus self-defeated fled. This series of engagements and the flight of the army took place in Rabía ul Awwal 1161 A. H., or within 10 months of the murder of Nádir, *i. e.*, in the first year of Ahmad Sháh Durráni.

My first rupee (Plate II, fig. 1) illustrates this campaign. It was struck at Lahore in his first year مسند احمد شاہ. The inscriptions on it are as follows :—

در دران احمد شاہ بادشاہ احمد
ضرب دارالسلطنه لاہور
میمذت مانوس

The reverse has on it the couplet given above and 11, portions of the date 1161. The meaning of this couplet may be thus rendered :—

Ahmad Sháh, received an order from the Unlike Powerful One
To strike coins in silver and gold from the height of the fish to the
Moon.

As Ahmad Sháh the son of Muhammad Sháh was returning from the battle in which the Durráni Ahmad was defeated, he heard of the death of his father which took place on the 26th of Rabía us Sání 1161.

I have a coin of the 2nd year of Ahmad Sháh Durráni. On the reverse it has :—

جلوس میمذت مانوس سندہ ۲
ضرب پیشاور

I have seen no early Afghán coins struck at Kábúl or Kandahár ; so I judge they must be very rare. The Dehlí Ahmad must have recovered Sarhind and Lahore the same year, for I have rupees struck at these two towns in his first year 1161 A. H. Sarhind in those days must have been a glorious city, if the space now covered with ruins was inhabited.

Meer Munnoo the son of Qamar-ud-Dín was made governor of Lahore. He destroyed the fort Rám Rownee which the Sikhs had made at Amritsar. The Durráni hearing of the death of Qamar-ud-Dín in battle and of the Dehlí emperor's after it again crossed the Indus. He was, however, persuaded to retire. To this second invasion I attribute the Pesháwar coin of his second year given above.

Meer Munnoo grew strong in Lahore. He became almost independent of Dehlí, and the tribute he had promised to the Durrání king in order to persuade him to retire, he never paid. This brought Ahmad Sháh again to the Panjáb. Meer Munnoo waited for him under the walls of Lahore where a battle was fought, the result of which was, that he was taken prisoner. When brought before the conqueror, he was asked, "Had you taken me prisoner, what should you have done?" "Cut off your head and sent it to my master the Emperor of Dehlí," was his answer. "Now I have you in my power, what shall I do with you?" was the next question. He replied "If you are a tyrant destroy me, if you are merciful forgive me." This so pleased the Durrání that he was reinstated as governor of Lahore. All the treasure of Lahore fell into Ahmad Sháh's hands. Lahore and Multán fell under the sway of the Afgháns. These matters occupied the 3rd, 4th and 5th years of the king's reign. The second coin drawn illustrates this conquest of Lahore. The obverse is occupied by the Persian couplet. The reverse has the following inscription:—

جلوس میہمنت مانوس سنه ۵
ضرب دارالسلطنه لاہور

I have two rupees of Ahmad Sháh of Dehlí struck at Lahore in his 4th and 5th years 1164 and 1165 A. H. So his power was not altogether gone.

The 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th coins illustrate the hold the Durrání king kept on the annexed province of Multán and the trans-Indus provinces. Of Nos. 3 and 4 I give only the reverses. They are as follows:—

No. 3. ضرب ملتان سنه ۶ جلوس میہمنت مانوس

No. 4. ضرب دیرہ سنه ۷ جلوس میہمنت مانوس

No. 5 is unique:—

Obverse v در دران احمد شاہ

Reverse 1167 ۱۱ ۶۷ ضرب پیشاور

No. 6 is a beautiful coin belonging to Sir Edward Clive Bayley who kindly gave me permission to copy it:

Obverse in lozenge:— ۱۱ ۷۰ در دران احمد

Round this is the Persian couplet, and the date ۱۱۷۰.

Reverse:— ضرب دارالامان ملتان جلوس میہمنت مانوس

Besides the above I have a rupee of *Multán* of his 5th year and one of the 7th. Also one of *Bhakkhar* of the 7th year, which shows that these parts were under the sway of the Durrání king. There is a rupee of the 10th year struck at *Lahore*, in the British Museum.

These five years, from the 5th to the 10th of the reign of Ahmad Sháh Durráni, were full of events which happened both in Lahore and Dehlí. Meer Munnoo, governor of Lahore, died of cholera. His widow Mugalána Begum took up the reins of government and held them with a strong hand. But her son-in-law, Ghází-ud-Dín, invaded the Panjáb, and with the aid of Adína Beg ruled it, until Ahmad Sháh hearing of the disturbances in the country again visited the scene of his former conquests. In Dehlí Muhammad Sháh, the Mogul Emperor, had been dethroned, imprisoned, blinded and murdered and Álamgír the second had been placed on the throne 1167 A. H. It was in 1170 A. H. that Ahmad the Durráni returned to India, Mugalána Begum met him with an army which she united to his at Lahore. He made his son, Tímúr Sháh, Nizám of Lahore and Multán, while he himself passed on through Sarhind to Dehlí. Coins Nos. 15 and 16 of my plate illustrate this fact. The obverse of these rupees has the following Persian inscription on it:—

بِعَالِمِ يَافَتْ سَكَهَةَ قَيْدَورْ شَاهَ نَظَامَ
بِحَكْمِ خَدَاءِ وَرَسُولِ إِيَامِ ۱۱۷۰

The reverse of No. 15 has:—

جَلْوَسِ مَيْمَنَتِ مَانُوسِ سَنَةِ اَحَد
ضَرْبِ خَارِ السُّلْطَانِيَّةِ لَاهُور

Another rupee with exactly the same inscriptions has the year ۱۱۷۱ A. H., thus showing that the 1st year of Tímúr Sháh's Nizámat was in 1170-1 A. H.

The reverse of No. 16 has:—

جَلْوَسِ مَيْمَنَتِ مَانُوسِ سَنَةِ ۲
ضَرْبِ دَارِ الْأَمْمَانِ مُلْتَانِ

The obverse of this, No. 16, has the same inscription as No. 15 but without any year. (Just as I had finished this sentence a coin dealer brought me over 200 rupees to examine. I found one of Multán of the 1st year of Tímúr Sháh's Nizámat 1170 A. H.)

When Ahmad Sháh arrived at Dehlí he began to plunder. From the son of his old enemy Qamar-ud-Dín he obtained two krore rupees' worth of ashrafís, and a krore rupees' worth of jewels. He employed Mugalána Begum on this work, and as she knew all the people of Dehlí, she caused a lot of wealth to be brought in. Besides this the Durráni married the daughter of Muhammad Sháh, and Tímúr Sháh married the daughter of Álamgír II who seems to have helped in the plundering

of his own capital. Ahmad Sháh stayed in all about 40 days in Dehlí, coin No. 7 of my plates illustrates this short period.

Obv.— The Persian couplet and the year ۱۱۷۰.

Rev.— ۱۱ جلوس صیہنہ صادوس
ضرب دارا کلاغہ شاہ جہان آباد

I have seen rupees apparently from the same dies. As Ahmad Sháh was in Dehlí only 40 days, it is not at all wonderful that I have a rupee of Alamgír II struck in his 4th year 1170 A. H., the year of Ahmad Sháh's invasion. During this occupation of Dehlí Mathurá was plundered. Its idols and temples were overthrown and many were massacred. The historian says that not a single straw was left in Dehlí. Alamgír II was restored to the throne, but the creatures of Ahmad were left everywhere. In passing through Amritsar "hundreds of Sikhs were slain and thousands of houses destroyed." Tímúr Sháh was left in Lahore with an efficient general, and Ahmad betook himself and his plunder to Kandahár.

No sooner had the Durrání sovereign left the country, than Adína Beg who had been hiding in the mountains attacked Lahore and took it. But this must have been about 1173 A. H., as the British Museum has rupees of Tímúr as Nizám of Lahore for 1171 and 1173, the year of the Nizámat on this latter one being 3. Adína Beg prospered. But in Dehlí matters went from bad to worse. The Mahrattas, being called in to assist on one side of the quarrel, made themselves masters of the city. They then advanced on Sarhind which they plundered. Lahore next fell before them. After this they attacked the prince Tímúr Sháh who had entrenched himself at Imánábád. He was defeated and he fled to Pesháwar pursued by the Mahrattas. The Sikhs chose this opportunity for showing their heads. Their numbers had been increasing in spite of persecution. They rebuilt Amritsar after they had forced Muhammadans to clean it. They held Lahore even for a short time at this period.

I have one rupee of Ahmad Sháh's 11th year, and one also of his 13th year struck at Lahore. These must have been struck when his officers were paramount in that city.

Alamgír reigned nominally in Dehlí till his 6th year. I have a rupee of his 6th year struck in Lahore in 1172. One of his 5th year, struck in Kashmír, is dated 1173 A. H. One of his 5th year and one of his 6th, both struck at Ahmadnagar—Farrukhábád, are both dated 1172. Both these were obtained from Quettah. Can it be possible they were part of the plunder taken away by Ahmad Sháh after the campaign I am about to describe?

When Ahmad Sháh saw the Panjáb lost to him, he returned, to the dismay of the Mahrattas who fled as he approached. Owing to his presence Alamgír was murdered. Alí Gaur Sháh Álam was away in Bengal. The Mahrattas retiring, Ahmad Sháh took Dehlí. This took place in 1173 A. H. Dehlí was given over to plunder for 3 days. The whole Dúáb fell into his hands. In 1174 the battle of Paniput was fought in which the Mahrattas were utterly defeated. It will thus be seen that this invasion occupied about two years, the 14th and 15th of Ahmad Sháh's reign. Coins Nos. 8—13 of my plate exemplify this period. They all have the Persian couplet on their obverses. The reverses are as follows:—

No. 8. *Reverse* :— ۱۵ میہنٹ مانوس سندھ
ضرب انولہ

Aonlah is a town of Rohilkand on the railway between Barellí and Chandausí.

No. 9. *Reverse* :— ۱۵ میہنٹ مانوس سندھ
ضرب موادا باد

This coin is the property of W. Theobald, Esq. of Bedford.

No. 10. *Reverse* :— ۱۵ میہنٹ مانوس سندھ
ضرب دارالخلافہ شاہ جہان آباد

No. 11. *Reverse* :— ۱۵ میہنٹ مانوس سندھ
ضرب اٹک

No. 12. *Reverse* :— ۱۵ میہنٹ مانوس سندھ
ضرب بریلی

No. 13. *Reverse* :— ۱۵ میہنٹ مانوس سندھ
ضرب سہرند

Sarhind is always spelt on coins Sahrind. The obverse of this coin is dated 1174 A. H.

Besides these coins which I have drawn I have Lahore, 14th, 1173; 15th, 1175; Sháhjahánábád, 15th, 1174; Lahore, 16th, 1175; 16th, 1176; Sahrind, 16th, 1175. Mr. Theobald has one struck at Farrukhábád during this period.

Ahmad Sháh disappeared from India immediately after the battle of Paniput. He left governors in Sarhind and Lahore. The Government at Dehlí was impoverished and powerless. The Sikhs who under all the changes of government had bided their time, plundered, fled away, grown rich and numerous, began again to assume power. They built a fort at Gujránwálla. They defeated the governor of Lahore.

They troubled the governor of Sarhind. They laid siege to the town of Jandíála, 11 miles from Amritsar. It was this last matter which brought Ahmad Sháh again on the scene.

They say that one night Ahmad Sháh was in a quiet sleep, all at once in the middle of the night he woke up, and ordering his body-guard of 300 horse to attend him, he took his way towards India. He ordered his Aid-de-Camps to tell the prime-minister of his departure, and to get the whole army ready and follow him with the greatest expedition. Ahmad making double marches was soon in the neighbourhood of Lahore, but with him were only 10 or 12 horsemen. Meeting with a peasant he asked him where the Sikhs were. He was told that to the number of 70,000 they were encamped before Jandíála. Hearing this he departed at once for Jandíála. The besiegers when they heard of Ahmad Sháh's arrival at once fled. The besieged could not understand it. They sent out spies to see if it were a trick of the Sikhs to draw them out of their fortifications. The spies reported that they could see nothing of the enemy. But under a tree about two kos away, they found a man sitting under a canopy. Some ten or twelve armed attendants were with him and were treating him with the profoundest respect. When the governor of Jandíála heard this, he at once knew that it was Ahmad Sháh who had come to his relief. He went out to thank his Sovereign and was received with kindness. Soon after the general arrived with the Afghan army. The general biding his time as Easterns always have done and do still, asked Ahmad Sháh why he had left Kábul so suddenly. He answered that as he was sleeping Muhammad had appeared to him, and told him of the siege of Jandíála and the distress of the besieged, and had ordered him to start at once to relieve the town. So trusting in God he had started leaving orders for the army to follow him.

After staying a few days at Jandiála, Ahmad Sháh crossed the Bías and Sutlaj, and defeated the main body of the Sikhs who were just about to commence an action with his governor of Sarhind. This action known as the Ghuloo Ghára, or great disaster, took place about 20 miles south of Ludiana. The founder of the present Pattiála family was among the prisoners. “He was declared a rája of the State and dismissed with honour.”* I shall refer to this further on. Ahmad Sháh “the very ideal of the Afghán genius, fitted for conquest, yet incapable of empire” immediately returned to Kandahár. He never attempted to improve a victory or govern a country he had conquered. This incursion took place in the year 1176 A. H. The Sarhind coin I have mentioned above, seems to illustrate this period. It is of his

* Cunningham's History of the Sikhs, p. 101.

16th year. The year is 1175. But that must be a mistake. However the Lahore coins go on steadily. One of the 17th year is dated 1176, another 1177 A. H. One of the 18th year has 1177, another 1178; a 19th year one has 1178. The Dehlí and Dúáb coins cease. Ahmad Sháh no longer ruled there. 1178 A. H. is equal to 1764 A. D. which is equivalent to 1821 of the Samvat era. Now in 1822 A. S., the Sikh commonwealth struck their first rupees of Lahore. (See my *Coins of the Sikhs.*) Hence we shall not expect to find any rupees of the 20th year of Ahmad Sháh struck at Lahore, I have sought in vain for one of this year. After the 16th year, the Cis-Sutlaj coins cease.

After the Ghuloo Ghára Ahmad Sháh, on his return through Lahore, made Kábúlí Mull his governor there. Zein Khán had been left governor of Sarhind. He was defeated by the Sikhs with immense slaughter. The town of Sarhind was utterly destroyed. The Sikhs actually carried their victorious arms into the Dúáb. It was this loss of Sarhind which brought Ahmad Sháh again to India in 1178 A. H. No very accurate account seems to exist of this incursion. It seems it was not a success. “12,000 Afgháns suddenly deserted and retraced their steps towards Kábul. The Sháh was obliged to break up his camp and follow them.”* He never returned. This last incursion took place in his 18th year. The Sikhs seizing Lahore struck coins there first in 1822 A. S., as I have shown. I have seen rupees of theirs struck at Lahore in 23, 24 and 25. And yet their rule could not have been uninterrupted, for I have a rupee of Lahore of Ahmad Sháh struck in his 21st year and 1180 A. H., also one of his 22nd year is in the British Museum.

No. 14 of my plate contains the following reverse:—

ضوب دیرہ سی

Dera I have seen on some coins changed to Deraját. This is of course the Trans-Indus Province. I have in my cabinet a coin of Ahmad's 25th year struck at Pesháwar. It was to this part of India his rule was restricted before he died.

The coin No. 17 is a modern Puttiála rupee presented to me by the foreign minister of the State. It has on the obverse the whole of the couplet of Ahmad Sháh who created the 1st Máháraja of Pattiála. On the reverse there is the same inscription as on No. 13. The mint is Sarhind. The katár or dagger is the sign of the present Maháraja. As a rule the rupees of this State are thick and dumpy, consequently they never have more than a third of the inscription on them. They are about the same in diameter as a four-anna piece and about 4 times

* Kángra Settlement Report by G. Barnes, Esq.

as thick. This is the only thing in India to remind us that Ahmad Sháh invaded this country no less than seven times.

Thus I have shown how coins illustrate the history of one of the conquerors of India. Never have I been able so well to illustrate the Persian line :—

هر کہ شمشیر زند سکھ بنا مش خوانندہ

“People read coins in the name of every one who smites with the sword.”

We have seen how Ahmad Sháh of Dehlí and Ahmad Sháh Durráni struck coins in the same year in the same places, as did also Álamgír II, and the Durráni. Sháh Álam II never coined in any trans-Sutlaj province. Coins were struck by Ranjít Deo in Jummoo in his name. But no rupee of Lahore or Multán with the name of Sháh Álam II has yet been found. The Sikhs became absolute masters of their own land, and all throughout the years of the long reign of Sháh Álam II, kept the mint at Amritsar, Lahore and Multán fully employed in striking coins in praise of Nának and Gobind Singh.

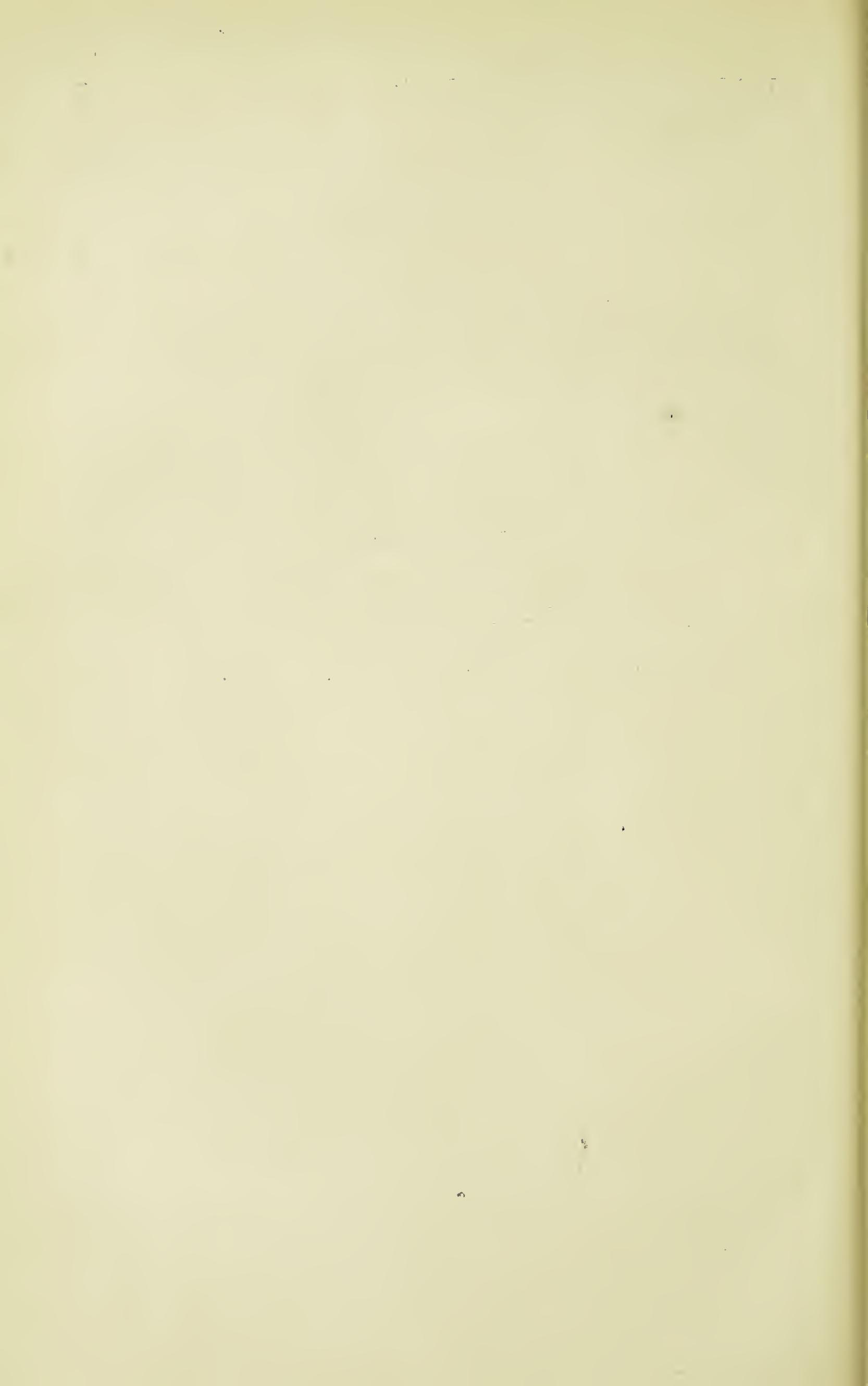
The numbers under the coins show the weight of each in grains.



LIST OF ERRATA.

p. 22, l. 9, *read* सिर में असि

p. 28, note*, *for* on *read* in.





1

c

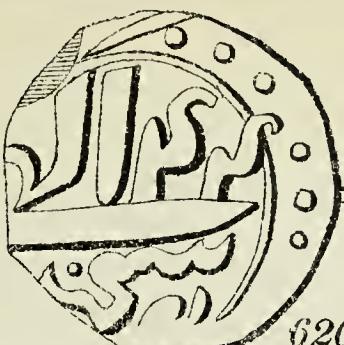
618 grs.



2

c

620 grs.



3

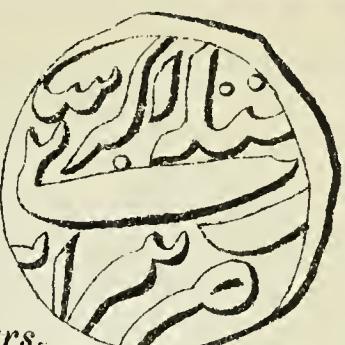
c

317.5

4

c

309.



5

c

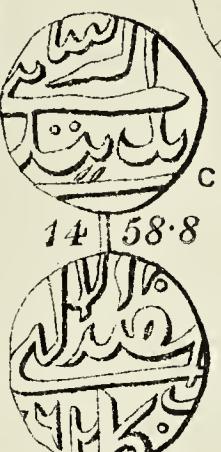
153.1



6

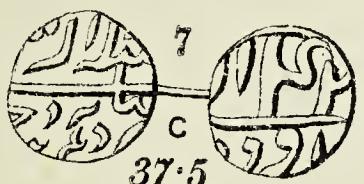
c

39.5



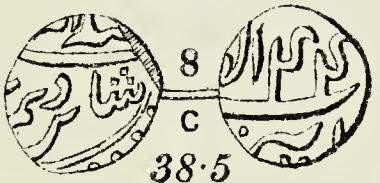
14

58.8



37.5

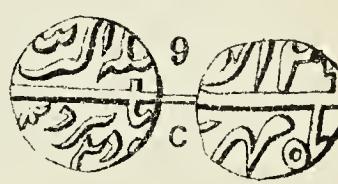
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8

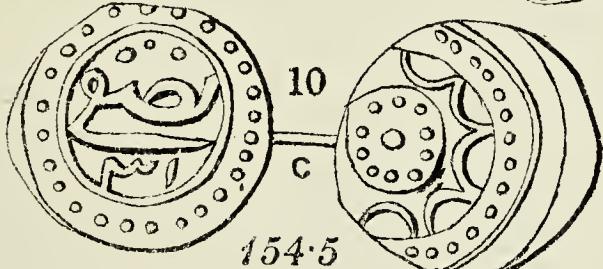
c

38.5



9

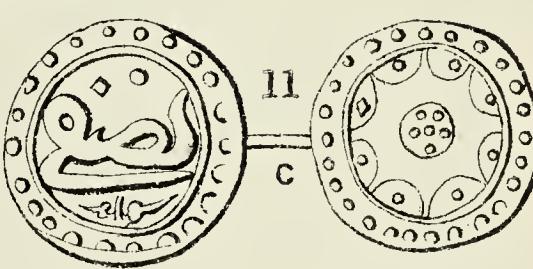
c



10

c

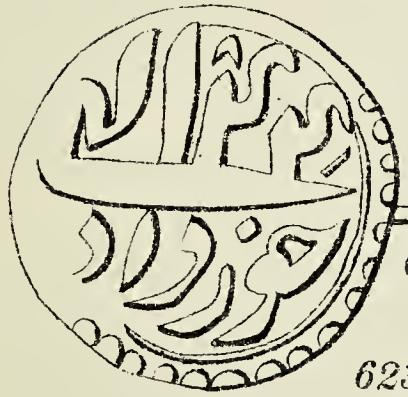
154.5



11

c

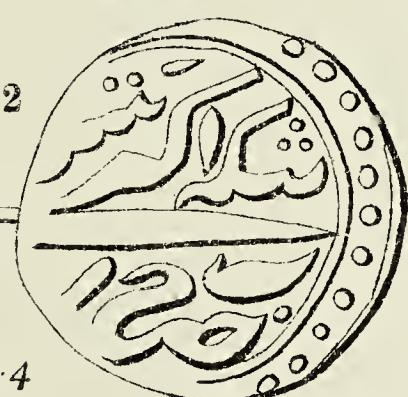
39.5



12

c

623.4



13

c

316.



1

s

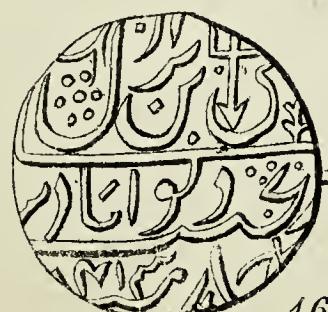
171.2



2

s

171.6



3

s

165.5



4

s

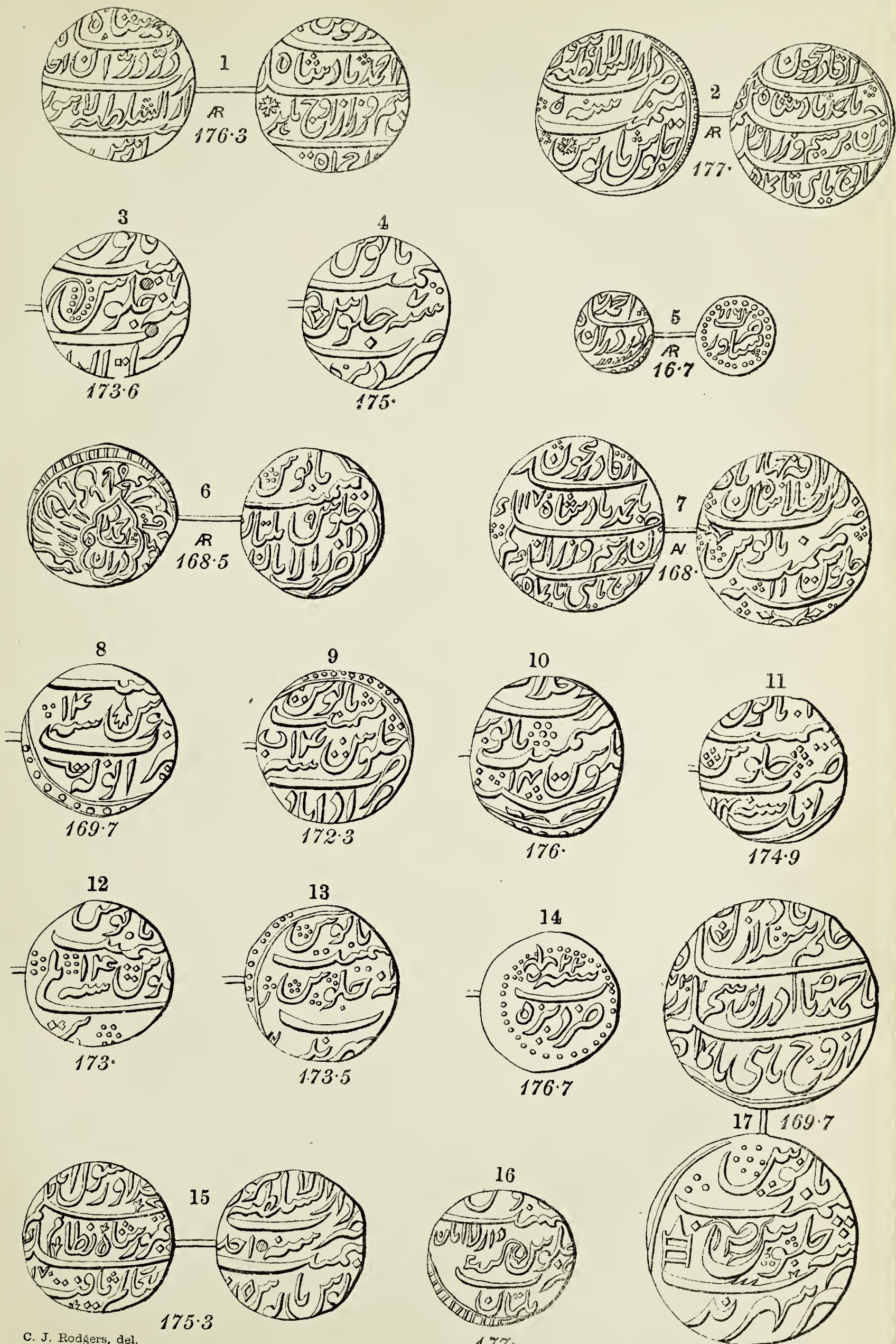
166.5

C. J. Rodgers, del.

COPPER COINS OF AKBAR (1 TO 14).

DUDES OF RANIIT DEO. BATAH OF TAMMI (1 TO 4).





JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1885.

On the Trishtubh Metre.—By J. Boxwell, B. C. S.

The rich variety of rhythm that lies in eleven syllables has given form to musical poetry among many Aryan peoples through many ages. The earliest of these hendecasyllabic metres, the Vedic Trishtubh, on analysis yields interesting results, and discloses curious affinities to others of the group. Professor Max Müller it is true, proves almost any structure admissible in Vedic metres. But they are not to be judged like the Greek tragic senarius, which is Sanskrit in the highest sense, carefully perfected. Any structure found in Sophocles is good, be it rare or common. Vedic metres are rough; by no means polished to perfection. But their music is clear; and analysis shows us, not exactly what is admissible and what is not, by a division line; but, by comparative frequency, what rhythm the Vedic poets sought.

Acknowledging gratefully the vritta of the final three syllables, I think for scansion it is better to divide the traishṭubh into an initial and final quadrisyllable, and a medial trisyllable. As we might expect, rigour of structure increases from the beginning towards the end. The form is usually given $\times \times \times \times \times \times - \curvearrowleft - \times$: or even $\times \times \times \times \times \times \times \times \curvearrowleft - \times$; but I hope to show that there is a very strong tendency in a particular direction; and that on this tendency much of the peculiar effect of the trishtubh depends.

The final quadrisyllable is the most firmly fixed. Even in the 8th syllable there is only a trace of irregularity. The regular traishṭubh ends in a ditrochee.

Although the 7th and 5th show separately no tendency to fixity, they seem to be bound up closely by a law with the 6th, which is short in more than 90 per cent. of cases.

The rule for the middle trisyllable is this :—

—	◡	◡	...	30 per cent.	}
◡	◡	—	...	30 per cent.	
◡	◡	◡	...	21 per cent.	
—	◡	—	...	10 per cent.	

As there are 8 possible trisyllables ; that 3 of them should give 81 per cent., and that in 91 per cent. of cases the middle or 6th syllable should be short, proves design or rather feeling for the particular effect.

The initial quadrisyllable shows a tendency almost as strong. Of 16 possible feet,

—	—	◡	—	gives 24	}
◡	—	◡	—	„ 22	
—	—	—	—	„ 13	
◡	—	—	—	„ 13	

that is Alcaic and quasi-Alcaic openings yield 72 per cent., while the 12 other possible openings between them give only 28. The favourite cæsura is that which corresponds to the classical penthemimetal. The typical traishṭubh is thus $\times - \text{◡} - | - \parallel \text{◡} \text{◡} | - \text{◡} - \times \parallel$ or a combination of Alcaic opening with Sapphic close, a line of great sweetness and dignity.

The first stanza of the horse-sacrifice hymn, 163 of the first book of the Rig Veda is a very perfect example ;

Yad akrandas prathamam jáyamáñas,
Udyan samudrát uta vá puríshát,
Śyenasya pakshá harinasya báhú
Upastutyam mahi játam te arvan.

It may be rendered into Latin in the same metre and structure ;

Quis hic jam nunc fremitum natus edit ?
Pontus-ne talem, genuit-ve nubes ?
Dat vultur alas tibi cervus armos.
Deūm gentem, Sonipes, te fatemur.

The recognized hendecasyllabic metres of trochaic ending are—

- 1st. English iambic trimeter catalectic.
- 2nd. The Italian heroic line.
- 3rd. The hendecasyllabic of Catullus.
- 4th. Certain lines of Pindar.
- 5th. The Sapphic line.
- 6th. The trishtubh.

To these I add the Alcaic stanza for the following reason: Two lines have eleven syllables each. Two lines including the last have the characteristic trochaic ending. The first three Alcaic lines open in the same manner as about half the traishṭubhs in the Rig Veda; and the dactyls of the first, second and fourth lines have very much the effect of the dactyls and anapæsts which so constantly form the second or middle foot. That this division into classical feet is not unsound is shown thus. The law of syllabic length might be thus provisionally stated, 1 being practical certainty and the decimal showing the approach to certainty.

11th	syllable	common.	
10th	,	—	1·0
9th	,	˘	1·0
8th	,	—	1·0
7th	,	×	
6th	,	˘	0·9
5th	,	×	
4th	,	—	0·8
3rd	,	˘	0·58
2nd	,	—	0·8
1st	,	×	

But it has been shown that the 5th and 7th are not separately and independently indifferent like the 1st or 3rd. If either 5th or 7th is long, the other is almost always short; and in the rare instances of 5th and 7th long together, the 6th, already very steadily short, is so persistently short that a molossus may be considered inadmissible as middle foot. It is this quality of the middle foot which seems to me to give character, second only to the trochaic close. The fact that the 6th syllable, and with it either the 5th or the 7th, will be short, produces what I can only call a ripple or break, causing flexibility and variety.

The trishṭubh metre supplies examples of almost all the other lines from the tame English iambic to the quickest Sapphic. And indeed Shakespear's iambics and Dante's heroics contain many veritable traishṭubhs. The lines may be set in a scale.

'Tis certain greatness, once fall'n out with fortune. Tatas dadáti dásushe vasúni.

Αἰολίδαι δε Σίσυφον κελοντο.

Vitam quæ faciunt beatiorem.

Per me si va nella cittá dolente.

Κλεανδρῷ τις ἀλικίᾳ τε λύτρον.

Καὶ γὰρ αἱ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει.

Αἱ δε δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει.

Púrṇagabhaſtim īlate supáñim.

Codat rádhas upastutas cit arvák.

Indram naras nemadhitá havante.

Tuam ha tyat, Indara, Kutsam āvas.

Gobhir açwebhir vasubhir niṛṣṭas.

Gomat açwavat rathavat viantas.

I have attempted to translate into Latin two fine odes from the 3rd and the 10th books ; one into Sapphics, the other into its native metre in a Latin dress.

RG VEDA III. 33.

Advenam me ripa sacræ Vipacis
Arcet invitum, geminusque gurges.
Ceu boves undæ ad mare mugientes
 Ire videntur.

Flumine hoc pingui Deus ire jussit.
Quærimus matris gremium, neque ullis
Flectimur surdæ precibus. Quid audax
Vult sibi yates?

Rite libantis mea vota nymphæ
Audiant; natus Cusico precatur.
Vos brevem tardare velitis horam
Flumina lapsus.

Quo Deus dicit sequimur. Malignum
Fulmine occisit simul Indrus anguem,
Atque iter claustris penitus refractis
Pandit aquarum.

Splendeat nomen magis illud Indri
Indies. Pestem Arcitenens peremit;
Haurit et gratos cohibente nullo
Alveus imbræ.

Quod canis sis tu memor ipse fati.
Ultimum has voces iterabit ævum.
Ne velit frenare deas amœno
Carmine vates.

Post tot erratus precor o sorores,
Gurgitem currus date mitiorem
Transeat, vestris mihi neu madescat
Fluctibus axis.

Post tot erratus precibus movemur.
 Transeat currus, cecidere fluctus,
 Nupta succumbit nova cen marito,
 Sic tibi cedam.

Trans aquas te Diva jubente et Indro
 Duxerint postquam Barati cohortes ;
 Oestuat flumen ; veniam ipe supplex
 Numina poscam.

Occupant ripam Barati feroce,
 Nactus et vates veniam dearum.
 Ite nunc amnes solitosque læti
 Volvite cursus.

RG VEDA X. 108.

Quid est cur has Sarama visat oras ?
 Longinquum nempe est iter arduumque.
 Quid opus nobis tibi ? Quo vagaris ?
 Qui tu Rasam poteras transilire ?

Indri videtis famulam. Repostos
 Quæro thesauros Panium latebris.
 Ne jussa fallam timor urget instans,
 Rasæ vada hinc poteram transilire.

Qualis et quantus, Sarama, Indrus ille,
 Tibi qui longum hoc iter imperavit ?
 Quin huc venit ? Hospitium paramus.
 Boumque nostrorum erit ipse custos.

Nulli captandus capit alterum ille,*
 Mihi qui longum hoc iter imperavit.
 Non illum immane latuit profundum.
 Vos fulgure Indri pereatis usti.

Quas tu boves Sarama, vis redemptas
 Errant fugaces per operta cœli.
 Quis impune abripiat ? inscius quis
 Sperat se Panes habiturum inermes ?

* Sarama could hardly tell the Panis she had never seen Indra, and to say that he would conquer the conquerable is a little flat. I have taken nāham tam veda dabhiām together ; “I have not seen him in-such-case-as-to-be-out-mancœuvered” and then dabhat sa “it is he who will win.”

Voces valent nil Panium minaces.
 An membra telo geritis scelesti
 Figenda? Patent aditus ad arcem.
 Vestrum Patrem misereat Supremum.

 Conditam saxo retinemus arcem
 Boumque plenam Sarama, atque equorum.
 Eam Panes vigilantes tuentur.
 Vanum tibi hoc est iter irritumque.

 Vos o superna numina invocata
 Factis sacris propitia hinc adeste.
 Raptas boves restituant latrones.
 Respuant Panes animum hunc superbū.

 Faventibus Sarama freta divis
 Ausa es ad nostras penetrare sedes.
 Ne redeas; te faciam sororem.
 Boves optatas tibi partiemur.

 Ego nec fratres neque vos sororem
 Novistis, Indrus superique testes,
 Qui me boves vehementer reposcunt.
 Panes abeste pro cul hinc profani.

On certain symbols or devices on the gold coins of the Guptas.—By W. THEOBALD, M. N. S. L. Bedford, November, 1884.

The following remarks have resulted from the perusal of an interesting and instructive paper on the Gupta coinage by V. A. Smith, Esq., published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, for 1884.

The idea now advocated may have doubtless occurred to others who have made the Gupta and Indo-Scythian coins their study, but it does not appear to have been published, nor is it in any way alluded to by Mr. Smith in his paper on these coins.

The three symbols referred to are the 'fillet' and the 'cornu-copiae' as they appear on the Gupta coins, as contrasted with similar symbols on Bactrian, Indo-Scythian and other coins, and the 'footstool' which occurs on both the copper and gold Gupta and Indo-Scythian coins, beneath the sealed figure of 'Ardochro,' and it is for these two latter symbols or devices, that a new, and it is believed a more correct interpretation is now offered.

THE GUPTA 'FILLET.'

The object to which the term 'fillet' has been applied and which Prinsep and Kittoe term a 'noose' is common not only on the Gupta coins, but on a variety of others, notably the Indo-Scythian of probably in part cotemporary date. Mr. Smith retains the term 'fillet' for this object "for convenience" but adds "in many cases I believe it would be more proper to follow Prinsep in calling it a 'paśu' or noose." The question whether the term 'fillet' be used or 'noose' may not seem of much importance so long as the objects alluded to are believed to be identical, but should this be otherwise, then it is clearly desirable not to unical one, by applying to it, a name properly applicable only to the other. It is moreover an instance of an error, simpler perhaps or minor in degree but identical in kind with another to which attention will presently be invited. It may be perhaps urged, that on coins of quasi-coarse execution like the Gupta coins, little weight can attend to the precise form of the symbol, and that the object thereon may form its general aspect be considered as copied from the more artistic 'fillet' or wreath, of Greek art, but admitting this, we are all the more thrown back, in our efforts to determine the precise significance in this particular case, of the object or symbol represented, to other data, and more general reasons than those afforded by the distinctive or artistic treatment of the symbol itself.

Not to carry the discussion further afield than India, and the country subjected to the Bactrian and Indo-Scythian kings, it may be observed that the 'fillet' or 'wreath,' (for in numismatics, the wreath is a more artistic and florid variation of the fillet, *quoad* the symbolism involved) occurs on coins in five distinct positions. 1st, In the hand of Nike or Victory, as in those of Azas and Vonones. 2nd, Encircling the king's head. 3rd, On a standard, or 'javelin' and called a staff, carried by the King or Priest, as in many Indo-Scythian coins. 4th, Either on the head or in the hand of the figure on the reverse of some Bactrian and many Indo-Scythian coins. 5th, Occupying the reverse of some Bactrian coins as in some of Antimachos.

In all of these instances it is clear that one and the same symbol is intended, representing one and the same idea, *e. g.*, paramount power, crowned by the symbol of paramount holiness. This symbol was of course the old 'fillet' or 'vitta' of classic times the *vitta tenuis, insigne pudoris*, as Ovid calls it, the outward sign, whether borne by king, woman, or priest of power and purity.

On the reverse however, of the Indo-Scythian coins, we find such an intrusion of personages from the Hindu pantheon as renders caution necessary in accepting the same symbol, or what might be regarded as

the same symbol, as indicating the same or any approximately similar idea, and we find ourselves carried back rather to the worship of Isis, than that of Vesta. In support of this view it seems almost sufficient to adduce the fact of the appearance on these coins of Siva, under the name of Okro, with either two or four arms and one or more* heads, and with his appropriate 'vahana' in attendance, the bull Nandi.

Now the 'noose' in the hand of Siva, can hardly with reference to that deity's functions and character be regarded as having any symbolical connexion or reference to the 'fillet' on Greek or Roman coins, but rather as representing a phallic symbol, appropriate enough in the hand of the Indian Siva or his consort or 'Sakti,' the tender Párvatí, or the formidable Durgá. But admitting that the symbol of the 'noose' is no longer the same as the 'fillet' when met with on the Gupta or some Indo-Scythian coins, it must not be inferred that it is exclusively a symbol of Siva, as it is also borne on some Gupta coins by a goddess, who is probably, as Mr. Smith maintains intended for Lakshmí, the consort of Vishnu, as indicated by the lotus throne whereon she is seated. Whilst therefore in the hand of the goddess seated on a lion, the symbol represents the 'noose' or 'paśu' of Siva, in the hand of his 'sakti' Párvatí or Durgá, yet when it is borne by the goddess throned on a lotus, it probably represents a female anthem homologous with the *sistrum* of Isis, and typical of the fruitfulness whereof Lakshmí is the dispenser and fountain head. Indeed it is curious, should the view presently to be developed with regard to the 'cornu-copiae' be accepted, that both symbols carried by the goddess, variously seated on a lion, throne, or lotus on the reverse of the Gupta coins, should be equally appropriate, whether such goddess is supposed to represent Párvatí or Lakshmí.

* It is usual to speak of the polycephalic Siva, as three-headed or three-faced, but this view is hardly supported by the coins, or any necessity of Hindú mythology. On the coins, this form of Siva or 'Okro' is represented not as though it were the artist's intention to represent three, but rather four heads or faces. What is depicted is, a full face in front flanked by two faces in profile, and with obviously room behind for a fourth face such an ideal figure corresponding very exactly with the well-known four-headed 'linga.' See for example fig. 26 in the Plate of Indo-Scythian coins in 'Jainism' (E. Thomas) which type is also occasionally met with on the copper coins of Ooerki with the king on the obverse seated on a couch, with one leg uplifted tbereon. Now Siva though a polycephalic deity, is not one whose mythological attributes, like Diana's "Tria virginis ora Dianæ" necessitate a triform conception of his person, and therefore the image on the coins of Ooerki and Bazdeo may fairly be regarded as representing not three but four heads. Had the artist wished to represent the god in a triform shape, he would have produced a figure resembling that of Janus, with two faces, neither of them in full profile, but this he has never attempted.

The above considerations therefore lead to two inferences: 1st, that the 'noose' symbol on the gold Gupta coins, represents wholly different ideas from those symbolised by the 'fillet.' 2nd, that the 'noose' symbol on these coins, is of ambiguous import, and that it represents indifferently the 'noose' of Śiva when borne by a goddess, whom we have other reasons for regarding as his Sakti, whether under the form of Párvatí or Durgá; or when it is borne by a goddess presumably identified with Lakshmí, it is then no longer the 'paśu' of Śiva but a feminine symbol, analogous to the 'sistrum' of Isis, and that it is by collateral indications only that it can be decided in which sense, in each case this symbol is to be construed. See Inman's Ancient Faiths embodied in Ancient Names, Vol. I, p. 527.

Having thus considered the probability of two symbols of entirely different significance being united or confounded under the term 'fillet' it remains to see if another and more interesting example of this union, and the resulting observation or blending of the ideas, is not afforded by the 'cornucopia' as it is termed, on the Gupta coins, and if an exotic symbol is not in this case also made to do duty for a different and peculiarly native idea.

THE GUPTA 'CORNU-COPIÆ.'

It may be granted at once that the 'cornu-copiæ' on the Indo-Scythian coins is exotic in its design, and copied probably from Roman coins of the period. The idea too is doubtless the same, and, as on Roman, so on Indo-Scythian coins the 'cornu-copia' is the symbol of good fortune, prosperity and abundance. This classic type of this particular symbol is seen on coins figured in Ariana Antiqua, Pl. XX, figs. 4 and 5, and also on the plate of coins in Jainism (Edward Thomas) fig. 16. In one gold coin of Ooerki, in my possession, the classic idea of the 'cornu-copiæ' brimming over with the kindly fruits of the earth is well displayed, and on either side project, what are clearly intended to represent corn-ears. Generally, however, the treatment is more conventional, though in every instance it would seem as if fruits or corn were the objects intended to be understood as filling the 'horn.' So far as I know, the 'cornu-copiæ' is always borne, on these gold coins by the goddess Ardochro, standing. In the Pesháwar find there were several of such coins and one with the legend of Mioro (No. 49 of Catalogue) but whether with the usual standing figure of a goddess is not quite certain, though such is probable from the wording of the catalogue. In copper coins, however, of Ooerki, of the elephant and rider type, the 'cornu-copiæ' though usually carried by the goddess Ardochro, is also occasionally seen in the hand of Mao. Now the name Mao on these coins, is

generally applied to a male deity, whom the crescent moon behind his shoulders proves to be the masculine moon, the Deus Luna, or 'Soma' of the Hindús. But on those coins whereon the 'cornu-copiæ' is borne by Mao, the deity is feminine and without the crescent moon behind her shoulder, or in other words the title Mao is occasionally bestowed on the deity usually named Ardochro.*

In every single instance that has come under my observation, the 'cornu-copiæ' on the Indo-Scythian coins in gold or copper of Ooerki, Kanerki, or Bazdeo, though various in design, never present the peculiar type which it assumes on the Gupta coins, neither is the peculiar type of the Gupta cornu-copiæ ever represented that I am aware of on either the gold or copper coins of the ordinary Indo-Scythian mintage, though seen in some coins of a different type classed by Wilson with the Guptas: A. A. Pl. XVIII, fig. 25 and by Mr. Smith as Indo-Scythian, one being figured on his Plate IV, fig. 6. Prof. Wilson (A. A. p. 427) describes these as "rude coins" and so perhaps many of them are; but two in my possession attributable to 'Bri Shaka' and 'Sita,' are as well designed and as clearly cut and stamped as the bulk of the Gupta coins, though displaying a stiff and formal mannerism quite distinct from either the Gupta coins on the one hand, or the Indo-Scythian on the other.

On the copper coins the 'cornu-copiæ' is either entire, or bifid at the top. In all the specimens I have seen of the 'cornu-copiæ' borne by Mao, it is distinctly, and sometimes deeply bifid, whilst the same symbol on the copper coins whereon Ardochro is figured, is entire at the top. This, however, is not a distinctive character, as on the gold coins Ardochro is represented bearing both types of the symbol. In A. A. Pl. XII, fig. 5 and Pl. XIV, figs. 4 and 5, the undivided type of cornu-copiæ is figured and this is certainly the commonest form, but a gold coin of Ooerki figured by Thomas (Jainism, Pl. 11, fig. 16) the cornu-copiæ is distinctly bifid, though not to the same extent as is seen on the copper coins with more on the reverse, and I have a very similar gold coin with the 'cornu-copiæ' distinctly though not deeply bifid. It is not from the same die as that figured by Thomas, as the 'nimbus' is complete, whereas on the figured coin it is only represented on front of the king's face.

The 'cornu-copiæ' (as it is called) on the Gupta coinage differs considerably from either type of the symbol on the Indo-Scythian coins, and this difference is too constant and circumstantial to be the result

* On another of these copper coins of Ooerki, Mao is also represented as a male figure with nimbus, and no crescent behind the shoulders, but with the emblem of Vulcan; in his right hand a hammer, with a small handle (like the bamboo handle of an Indian smith's hammer) and in his left, resting against his shoulder, a pair of pincers precisely like those now used in an Indian bazaar by an iron-smith.

merely of accident or inferior execution. On this point Mr. Smith pertinently remarks: "The suggestion that the figure of the Ardokro goddess was adopted by Samudra in mere imitation of a foreign design does not appear tenable. The coins with this reverse undoubtedly show evident traces of foreign influence, but they are far from being mechanical copies of alien design."

If this view is correct, as is probably the case the question arises, whether this constant difference in type of the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol which is found to exist on the Indo-Scythian and Gupta coins respectively, does not mark a corresponding divergence of ideas, represented respectively by each type of the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol? That such is the case with the 'fillet' there are, as has been shown good grounds for supposing, and in like manner a close examination of the Gupta 'cornu-copiæ' suggests that the idea it represents is entirely different from that of plenty and abundance, and that it stands really for, and in an adoptive and conventional mode of representing the native object of symbolical worship, the snake or Nága.

The point wherein the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol on the Gupta coins, diverges from its classic prototype on the Indo-Scythian coins is this, that whereas the latter has always the appearance of a receptacle stored with the kindly fruits of the earth, among which, in the best executed examples, heads of grain may distinctly be recognised, the Gupta symbol is closed above by a more or less convex line ornamented by a variable number of approximately equal and equidistant pellets or dots. Now bearing in mind that the symbol may be intended for the divine Nága, it is by no means an undue stretch of the imagination to regard these pellets as a conventional mode of representing a polycephalic Nága, whether we regard each pellet as corresponding to one of the heads or a mere jewel or ornament indicative of as many heads as pellets. Of the coins figured by Mr. Smith on Pl. II, fig. 3 displays 5 pellets, figs. 3, 7, 8, show 7 pellets and figs. 1 and 11, 8 pellets and similarly in the figures given in A. A. Pl. XVIII, the number of pellets ranges from 5 to 8.

It yet remains to connect this Gupta 'cornu-copiæ' with the Nága and though Mr. Smith does not allude to any such idea yet both his own Plates and Plate XVIII of the *Ariana Antiqua* furnish on close examination sufficient evidence to establish this rather startling conclusion. In A. A. Pl. XVIII, fig. 6 the curved body of a snake is indicated on the right hand side of the figure, the entire animal being above the couch or throne whereon the goddess is seated. In fig. 8 of the same Plate, the body of the snake seems to pass behind the back of the goddess and come out in front of the right instep whence it curves up over the left knee, the tail resting on the throne. In fig. 9 a somewhat similar arrangement

is seen though not quite so clearly made out. Turning now to Mr. Smith's paper, the first coin suggestive of a serpentine termination of the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol is fig. 3 of Pl. II. The snake's body in this coin comes round to the front, crosses the lap of the goddess and depends on one side from the left knee. This is not clearly to be seen on the plate, but is very distinct on a fine coin of the same type in my possession. In fig. 6, Pl. III, the goddess is represented sitting on a lion, and is described in the text (Page 186) as holding a flower in the left hand. Now this object is very unlike the flowers seen on other Gupta coins, as for instance in figs. 7 and 8 of the same Plate and in figs. 1 and 10 of Pl. II, and is with greater probability intended for a snake with distended hood, displayed on a level with the head of the goddess, a distinct fold of the snake's body being very distinctly seen in contact with the left knee. In some figure a sort of loop in this position may be held to represent the loose sleeve of the goddess, but in the present instance, it cannot possibly be thus explained, nor does there seem to be any alternative explanation to that now proposed.

Another indication of the true nature of the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol borne by the Ardochro goddess on the Gupta coins is in the object seen at her feet. Of this Prof. Wilson thus speaks (A. A. Page 423). "Instead of the lotus also, and the Indian mode of being seated, the female is often represented as sitting on a high-backed chair, with her feet on a footstool." Now this 'Ardochro footstool,' so called, can only be so regarded, not because it bears any distinct impress of anything of the sort, but because it was plainly intended by the artist to represent something; and being at the feet of the goddess, a stool seemed a probable conjecture. But the stool so called, is simply the portion of a circle, and the execution of the coins is such as to render the idea wholly untenable that the artist lacked the ability of giving some closer resemblance to a 'stool,' to the object in question, had such been his design. The addition of only a few rough lines and cuts on the 'die' would have left no doubt, that a 'stool' was what the feet of the figure were reposing on; as it is, the feet are simply encircled with a line, the area enclosed by which being ornamented with pellets or dots. The coins figured in A. A. Pl. XIV, figs. 19, 20, 21, and 22 support this contention, that it is not from want of artistic capacity that the so-called 'stool' is so very imperfect a representation of the object specified.

If on the other hand the 'cornu-copiæ' symbol is regarded as a conventional or covert representation of the 'Nága' or snake, then the 'stool' so called, at the feet of the goddess, at once resolves itself into the terminal coil of the monster's body, vindicating the powers of the artist from the reproach of inadequately representing what it was his intention to convey.

Supposing this interpretation of the 'footstool' so called is accepted, then the dotted area whereon the feet of the goddess rest; will represent the solid earth bounded or encircled by a fold of the mystic snake or Nága, whose presence is equally appropriate and in union with Hindú feeling, whether the symbol be regarded as introduced in honour of Síva or Vishnu, or to please the votaries of both.

There is an objection which might be raised, with reference to Pl. II, fig. 3 to the identification of the 'footstool' so called with the terminal portion of the snake's body, of which the *cornu-copiae* represents the expanded hood, and that is that on the coin alluded to, the extremity of the tail of the snake is seen recurved over the left knee of the goddess, though the 'footstool' is also seen at her feet.

As previously remarked, however, a coin in my possession whilst displaying very clearly the tail of the snake as indicated in the Plate, offers a somewhat different treatment to that usually seen on both gold and copper coins, of the so-called 'footstool,' and this slight alteration in design, is no doubt caused by the very fact in question of the tail of the snake represented by the *cornu-copiae*, being in this instance visible to its termination. Usually the tail is so arranged as to allow of the 'footstool' being considered as a terminal fold of the snake's body; in the case under consideration that is not so, and a slight but important modification is introduced which though present in the figured coin is still more clearly displayed on the finer coin in my possession. Usually the Ardochro footstool is represented by an oval line, bounded in part by the drapery of the figure, and which would very well represent a footstool if only some indication of legs were added. In my more perfect coin, the oval is incomplete, a clear space intervening between the ends and the drapery; in other words, it is no footstool which lies at the feet of the goddess but a curved snake. The coin is too well executed and in such preservation, that there is no room to doubt that such was the intention of the artist, and nothing but a foregone conclusion could allow of any doubt but that the *cornu-copiae* on this coin represents one snake and the 'footstool' another.

On some less artistic examples, the line representing this snake is double, and it is not clear whether we are to regard this duplication, as representing a second snake, or as merely the result of inferior execution, my own impression strongly inclining to the latter conclusion.

A coin in my possession, procured in the Panjab, with the name 'Sita' on it, and of precisely the same class of coins as that figured by Mr. Smith, Pl. IV, fig. 6, proves that a similar interpretation of the 'cornu-copiae' symbol can be applied in their case also. This is not clearly seen on the figured coin, as what is really the snake's body, there

appears as what might be the sleeve from which the arm of the goddess protrudes, but on my more perfect coin, the sleeve or cuff appears as a fold above the loop which would seem to be intended as a fold of the snake's body, round the arm of the goddess, with the extremity of the tail just visible on her left knee.

In support of the views here put forth reference has only been made to coins in my own cabinet or those figured in the 'Ariana Antiqua,' Mr. Thomas's 'Jainism or the early faith of Aśoka,' and Mr. Smith's paper, all works readily accessible to the Indian reader, but an examination of the fine series of Gupta coins in the British Museum, strongly bears out the fact of the Gupta 'cornu-copiae' being (by its mode of representation on the best samples) a conventional symbol of the 'Nága' and the only point I cannot explain satisfactorily to myself, is how this very obvious interpretation has hitherto escaped the notice of the many far abler antiquaries than myself who have studied these coins; for once enunciated, the idea seems almost as obvious, as the celebrated problem of the egg propounded by Columbus.

*The Square Silver Coins of the Sultáns of Kashmír.—By CHAS. J. RODGERS,
M. R. A. S., Member of the Numismatic Society, London, and Associate Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. (With 3 Plates.)*

When I wrote my small paper on "The Copper Coins of the Sultans of Kashmír" I mentioned the fact of my possessing square silver coins of five Sultáns. The publication of my papers on the coins of Kashmír caused other numismatists to search and the result was a great find of coins of both the Sultáns and Máhárájahs. I too was aroused from my lethargy and led to see if I could not get a few more coins, and I dared to hope that as I had published the copper coins of ten Sultáns, I might perhaps secure the silver coins of the same number of kings. I tried all the bazaars of the Panjáb, but they gave me nothing. A friend of mine travelling from the Jhelum to Kángra along the outskirts of Jammú tried every village bazaar, and he was successful in getting several coins amongst which was one of Mahmúd Sháh a name hitherto unknown in the annals of Kashmír, and of whom I have not as yet seen a copper coin. But more than this he obtained the *silver* coins of no less than five of the old Máhárájahs in fine condition. These are round and are similar to the copper coins only of much finer workmanship. This success led me to try for myself in Jammú and its environs.

I accordingly secured the services of an intelligent native who could read Persian well and draw a little, and who was moreover honest and so active as to seem almost ubiquitous. He made two or three journeys on my behalf and the result was that on starting from Amritsar on a year's furlough I had the pleasure of taking with me coins with the names on them of no less than seventeen Sultáns. One of them, however, had come to me in exchange from my revered friend General Cunningham,—that of Fath Sháh. During my absence Dr. Stulpnagel employed the same young man with equally good results for he obtained an additional coin, that of Yaqúb Sháh's. I afterwards secured a second one for General Cunningham. The accompanying three plates represent the coins thus obtained.

I do not think I can do better than transcribe the inscriptions so far as I can decipher them. Perhaps more successful numismatists or happier possessors of better specimens will be able to put me right on several points. I need not say how happy I shall be to be corrected as what I am in search of is historical correctness. We must not be shocked at the revelations of the coins. Here they are, the metal records, struck, as we have every right to believe, by the Sultáns themselves during the time of their reign. We must take them exactly as they are—

Margin.	Reverse in scalloped lozenge.	Obverse.	No.
فی شهور سنه اثني لعنه في شهر سنه اثنين واربعين وثمانين	ضرب کشہیور	السلطان الاعظم سکندر شاه	1
فی شهور سنه اثنيين واربعين وثمانين	do.	السلطان الاعظم زین العابدين	2
do. do. do.	do.	السلطان الاعظم حسن شاه	3
Variant of No. 3.	do.	do. do. do.	4
Illegible.	do.	السلطان الاعظم نادر شاه	5
فی شهور سنه احدی ؟ ؟ ؟	do.	do. do. do.	6
فی شهور سنه اثنيين واربعين وثمانين	do.	السلطان الاعظم فتح شاه	7
Smudged copy of above.	do.	السلطان الاعظم نادر شاه	8
Muddled copy of margin of No. 7.	do.	do. do. do.	9
فی شهور سنه سبع و خمسين وتسع مائة	do.	do. do. do.	10

Margin.	Reverse in scalloped lozenge.	Obverse.	No.
The reverses of these two coins are so bad I have not drawn them.			
فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ ذَلِكِ وَخَمْسِينَ وَتَسْعَ صَاهِيَةٍ	صُرُبْ كَشْمِيرْ	السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ شَهْرُ الدِّينِ	11
do. do. do.	do.	do. do.	12
فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ سَبْعِ وَخَمْسِينَ وَتَسْعَ صَاهِيَةٍ	صُرُبْ كَشْمِيرْ	السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ مُحَمَّدٌ	13
do. do. do.	do.	do. do.	14
فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ سَبْعِ وَخَمْسِينَ وَتَسْعَ صَاهِيَةٍ	صُرُبْ كَشْمِيرْ	السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ اسْلَامٌ شَاهٌ	15
			٩٧
Illegible.	do.	السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ ابْرَاهِيمٌ شَاهٌ	16
Copy of margin of Nos. 2 or 7.	do.	السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ اسْمَاعِيلٌ شَاهٌ	17
فِي سَنَةِ تِسْعَمِائَةٍ وَسَتِينَ وَاحْدَى	do.	السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ مُحَمَّدٌ شَاهٌ	18
Illegible.	do.	نَصِيرُ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدٌ غَازِيٌّ شَاهٌ (٩٦)	19
فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ سَبْعِينَ سَبْعِينَ وَتَسْعَمِائَةٍ	صُرُبْ كَشْمِيرْ	نَصِيرُ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدٌ حَسِينٌ بَادْشَاهٌ غَازِيٌّ	20
do. do. do.	do.	do. do.	21
٩٧٢ فِي شَهْرِ سَنَةِ اَلْذِيَنَ وَسَبْعِينَ وَتَسْعَمِائَةٍ	do.	do. do.	22
٩٨٩ (?) بِتَارِيخِ سَنَةِ نَهْصَدٍ وَهَشْتَادٍ (وَنَهَ) ٥	صُرُبْ كَشْمِيرْ عَلَيٌّ	ظَهِيرُ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدٌ عَلَيٌّ بَادْشَاهٌ ٩٨٩ (٩)	23
٩٨٠ بِتَارِيخِ سَنَةِ نَهْصَدٍ وَهَشْتَادٍ	do.	do. do.	24
٩٨٧ فِي سَنَةِ نَهْصَدٍ وَهَشْتَادٍ وَهَفْتٍ	do.	do. do.	25
do. do. do.	صُرُبْ كَشْمِيرْ يُوسُفٌ	نَصِيرُ الدِّينِ مُحَمَّدٌ يُوسُفٌ بَادْشَاهٌ غَازِيٌّ	26
do. do. do.	do.	صُرُبْ كَشْمِيرْ اَكْبَرٌ	27
فِي سَنَةِ تِسْعَمِائَةٍ وَسَتِينَ وَاحْدَى	do.	اَعْظَمُ مُحَمَّدٌ جَلَالُ الدِّينِ اَكْبَرٌ	28

Margin.	Reverse in scalloped lozenge.	Obverse.	No.
Unintelligible and not given.		اعظم محمد جلال الدين ضرب كشمير	29
Not given but date same as on 28.	فی شهور	اکبر بان شاہ	30
	فی شهور سنه اذی و اربعین	السلطان الاعظم جلال اندین	31
	و تہائیہ	صہبہ اکبر	875
	فی شهور سنه خمسین	السلطان الاعظم محمد شاہ	32
٩٨٧	ب تاریخ هفت هشتاد و نہ صد	صہبہ ٨٤٢	842
٩٩٢	ب تاریخ دونو دونہ صد	السلطان الاعظم ح محمد ضرب کشمير	33
	فی شهور سنه اذی اربعین	ہمایوں غازی	
	و تہائیہ	نصیر الدین محمد یوسف	34
Same as 35.	ب تاریخ هفت هشتاد	بادشاہ غازی	
٩٨٧	و نہ صد	نصیر الدین محمد یعقوب	35
	ب تاریخ ذہ صد نوہ ٦ (?)	بادشاہ غازی	
١٤٧	الہی اسفندار نور	السلطان الاعظم بد تا علی	36
	اکبر اللہ جل جلالہ	914 (?)	
do.	do.	same as 35.	37
		ع الدین محمد غازی	38
		السلطان الاعظم محمد اکبر	39
		ضرب سری نگر	40
		ضرب سری نگر ١٤٧	41
		الہی خورداد	
		ضرب سری نگر ٥٠ الہی	42
		اردی بہشت	

Coin Nos. 39 and 40 are copper. They are given to illustrate remarks made in the course of this essay on the *silver* coins of the Sultáns. They are both of them new to numismatists not having yet been published. No. 40 is exceedingly rare. I have only seen one other like it.

There are several points calling for notice in the above list of coins
(1) On some coins the dates are given in two ways in figures and in words. Some have only the words. (2) In some cases the date is in Arabic words in others in Persian. (3) The same date,—viz., 842 appears in Arabic words on the margins of coins which either possess

another date in figures or are the coins of kings who reigned long after 842. One coin of Muhammad Sháh No. 32, Pl. III has the date 842 in figures as well as words. (4) The date on coin No. I, Pl. I, is certainly like the date on the coins of Zain ul Ábidín. And yet No. I is a coin of Sikandar the father of this king. It is just possible that Zain ul Ábidín struck the coin in honour of his father. All the silver coins I have yet seen of Zain ul Ábidín have one date 842 in both figures and words, the figures appearing on the obverse and the words in the corners of the reverse. Hasan Sháh's coins have on them 876 in figures on the obverse and yet 842 in Arabic words on the reverse. Fath Sháh and Nádir Sháh in his earlier years used the same date 842 as far as I can judge. (5) The reverse of a coin of Akbar, No. 28, Pl. II seems to have been struck with the very die that was used for Mahmúd's coin No. 18, Pl. II, the year having the same 961 two years before Akbar came to the throne. All this is very strange. It reduces the value of the coins as aids in historical research to a minimum. What we want in the history of Kashmír is an accurate and trustworthy chronology and yet the coins which we usually regard as worthy of trust prove in this case to be worthless or nearly so. All the manuscript histories I have as yet consulted give different dates. They all vary from Prinsep. And Prinsep and all the MSS. differ from the coins. The later coins, however, seem trustworthy. I think we may accept the date in figures on Hasan Sháh's coin, 876. The date on both the silver and copper coins of Haidar Sháh is in figures 874. This date was evidently a favourite one for I have a small copper coin of Muhammad Sháh and also of Fath Sháh with this date on in *figures*. There are parallel cases to this. In my paper on the Sikh coins I showed that Ranjít Singh adhered to the year 1884 A. S. for ten years and to 1885 A. S. the Sikhs adhered until they ceased coining. But in small figures on the other side the real year was inserted. Again the H. E. I. Company struck coins at Farrukhábád on which the year is invariable 45th of Sháh Álam : at Murshedábád 19th year. Surat and Calcutta mints each had an invariable year. Fortunately we have no need of numismatic aid for the period of the Company's rule.

It will be seen that no coins of the early Sultáns have as yet been found. If my reading of the date of coin No. 1, pl. I, bearing Sikandar's name be correct then the first silver coins are those of Zain ul Ábidín. We have, however, Sikandar's coins in copper. In my own small cabinet I have five undoubtedly his and several doubtful ones. Every cabinet of coins in the Panjáb contains a lot of coins of Kashmír in copper which no one has yet been able to assign to any known ruler.

It is very peculiar that no coins bearing the name of Habíb Sháh

have yet been found. It is probable, however, that although Habíb's name occurs in inscriptions the name of the coins was Mahmúd.

Again we have on the coins the name of Nádir Sháh. Now, no list of kings gives this name. They all have Názuk Sháh. This must have arisen from some mistake of the early copyists unless indeed his name was Nádir Sháh on his coins and Názuk Sháh in the mouths of the people. In one MS. in the British Museum the name Názuk Sháh is spelt variously نار شاہ بار شاہ مار شاہ and نار شاہ. All the MSS. read Názuk and all the coins both in silver and copper read Nádir. No coin has yet been found with Názuk on it.

There were two kings of the name of Shams ud Dín. I think the coins are those of the second and not of the first king of that name. Unfortunately neither of the coins I figure has a margin worth drawing. It is perfectly illegible. Hence no date can be made out.

Of Islám Sháh and Humáyún I shall speak in another place.

It seems to me that these coins evidence that Arabic was not much studied in Kashmír, or if studied, the knowledge of it was confined to the Muhammadan saints and sages with accounts of whose accomplishments and virtues Muhammad Ázim's book abounds. The knowledge did not get into the mint. The reign of Zain ul Ábidín was, however, favourable to learning. In the confusion which followed learning was but lightly esteemed.

The coins vary very little. There is a certain monotony about them. They are all square. They have the same kind of lozenge on the reverse. The differences in the inscriptions will be at once visible. There are two the names on which I cannot make out. Nos. 36 and 38. Pl. III. Perhaps some one has better specimens. No. 30 is the property of my learned friend Dr. Stulpnagel as is also No. 35. I have much pleasure in acknowledging the kindness which placed the coins at my service. The same pleasant duty I have to perform to General Cunningham for the use of No. 37. All the rest of the coins are or were in my cabinet. Many have found rest in the British Museum.

When Akbar had got a fair hold on the country then he struck rupees in Kashmír with his own peculiar inscription on them. Nos. 41 and 42, Pl. III are two rupees of this kind struck in Srínagar. No. 40 is a copper dám struck in the same city. No. 39 is a copper coin of Akbar following the style of the old Sultáns.

The weight of the square silver coins varies from 91 to 96 grains. The lightest is one of Shams ud Dín's the heaviest one of Yúsuf Sháh's. Zain ul Ábidín's coins vary as much as 3 grains. Some are worn more than others. If the coins of Shams ud Dín are of the 1st king then we

can understand their being so much worn. But we cannot understand why his immediate successors' coins have not been found yet.

The five silver coins of the Maharajah's which I have vary from 82 to 87.9 grains. This weight is about 10 grains less than the average weight of the Muhammadan coins. Hence we cannot say that these square coins are the successor of the Hindu coins which were called *padákas*. The difference between the copper coins of the Mágárahahs and their silver coins is this; on the reverse instead of the word *deva*, the name of the coin पट्टक is given. The word used in Farishta when speaking of these coins is *Sikka* سکہ.*

Perhaps it will make matters easier if now without further preamble we give a slight sketch of the History of Kashmír under its own Sultáns, and thus show who the people were whose coins we have here drawn. Throughout I shall be guided by Farishta whose authority seems trustworthy and who seems to have consulted trustworthy authorities.

Sháh Mír.—In the reign of Sinha Deva in the year 715 A. H. = 1315 A. D., one year after the battle of Bannockburn, a faqir by name Sháh Mírzá or Sháh Mír appeared in Kashmír. He gave himself out to be a descendant of Arjun one of the Pándús. So he was of Hindu descent though of the Muhammadan religion. He became a servant of Sinha Deva who, however, died shortly afterwards. Sinha Deva was succeeded by Rinchina Deva who made Sháh Mírzá his wazír and the tutor of his son Chandar. Rinchina Deva died in 1318 A. D. and he was succeeded by a relative of his named Udyána Deva who came from Kandahár. This Mahárájah made Sháh Mírzá his wakíl and his two sons Jamshed and Alí Sher received appointments. Sháh Mírzá had two other sons Sarashának and Hindál. These also obtained power and office. Too late Udyána Deva found out his mistake. The father and four sons grew daily in wealth and power. The Mahárájah was a mere cypher in the land. At last in 747 A. D. he died. His widow Kotáh Rání desired Sháh Mírzá to put Chandar his pupil and the son of Rinchina Deva on the throne, and himself to hold the reins of government as before. He did not obey. She raised an army and went against him and was defeated and taken prisoner. She at length consented to marry Sháh Mírzá and to become a Muhammadan. One day and one night she spent as his wife. The next day she was seized and sent to prison. And then Sháh Mírzá, causing coins to be struck, and the khutba to be read, in his own name ascended the throne with the

* General Cunningham says in a letter received from him, 11th May 1884, "I have ascertained by actual assay that the so-called silver Hindu coins of Kashmír do not contain even the faintest trace of silver. They are simple white brass, made of zinc and copper."

title of Shams ud Dín. (There is just a possibility that coins Nos. 11 and 12 are of this Sultán. The points in favour of this view are (1) the archaic forms of the letters, (2) light weight evidently caused by wear, and (3) the fact that Shams ud Dín I was a ruler of some importance, whereas Shams ud Dín II was a puppet king.)

He reigned in all three years and died in his eightieth year. His reign would seem to have been a beneficial one. He raised two families to eminence the Chakks and the Mákarís. From these two families the chief generals and leaders and soldiers were drawn. He left the throne to his two sons Jamshed and Alí Sher. This was about 750 A. H. as Shams ud Dín obtained the throne about 747 A. H. and reigned three years.

(The above is one account. A manuscript history says that Zuljú in 724 A. H. came to Kashmír with an army of Turks and Moguls when Rinchina was king. This Zuljú is represented as marrying Rinchina's widow. The MS. goes on to say that Shamsher got the throne in 742 A. H. and Ala-ud-Dín in 748, A. H. We must not expect exactness in either names or dates from native historians. Indeed all throughout we may lay this down as an axiom that ignorant copyists can never be trusted to make accurate copies of books they do not understand. Another MS. which I consulted on a former occasion has it that Ratan-girí was the first Sultán of Kashmír and that he was a second Solomon. Zuljú is said to have come from Kandahár and to have returned there.)

Alá-ud-Dín.—After the death of Shams-ud-Dín, the brothers fought for the throne for about fourteen months. Eventually Sháh Jamshed was defeated and Alí Sher came to the throne under the title of *Alá-ud-Dín* and he made his younger brother Sheráshának his waqíl. In the early years of his reign there was plenty in the land, but the latter part of it was troubled with famine. One good law he made:—that no bad woman should have any inheritance from her husband. This law acted well. It restrained the women. This lets in a little light on the social condition of that time and land. Alá-ud-Dín reigned twelve years eight months and thirteen days.

Shaháb-ud-Dín.—His younger brother ascended the throne under the name of Shaháb-ud-Dín. He was a great conqueror. The day that passed without the receipt of a report of some victory or other obtained by his troops he did not count as a day of his life. Kandahár and Gazní feared him. He himself went to Pesháwar and threaded the passes of the Hindú Kush. He planted his tents on the banks of the Satlaj and in the way the Rájah of Nagarkot (Kángrah) gave in his submission. This rájah was just returning from a plundering expedition in the

direction of Dehli and part of the plunder was given as a present to Shaháb-ud-Dín. Little Tibet also sent a message desiring peace.

On his return to his capital he made his younger brother Hindál his heir to the exclusion of his sons Hasan Khán and Alí Khán whom he sent away in the direction of Dehlí. He reigned, in all, 20 years. In his reign Musalmans were few in the land, but as this king built a city which he called by his own name, he created in it a mosque, probably the first built in the valley.

Kutub-ud-Dín.—Hindál succeeded him under the title of Kutub-ud-Dín. His reign was disturbed by troubles at the bottom of which was his nephew Hasan Khán. He is said to have reigned fifteen years five months and to have died in 795 A. H.

Working back from this date with the data which our historian

					A. H.
ascended the throne in	...	...	...	...	781
Shaháb-ud-Dín	...	...	...	...	761
Alá-ud-Dín	...	...	...	...	748
Jamshed	...	...	...	...	746
Shams-ud-Dín	...	...	...	...	743

We have seen before that it was in 747 Shams-ud Dín came to the throne.

The “Náma-i-Sháhán-i-Kashmír” gives 796 A. H. as the year of Kutub-ud-Dín’s death and the *Tawarikh-i-Kashmír*” gives 795. Lithographed editions of *Farishtah* give 796 A. H. Prinsep’s Tables give 799 A. H. General Cunningham makes it in 1386 A. D. = 788 A. H. The five authorities bring it within a compass of eight years, so that no one of them is very much out. The Muhammadan historian concludes his account of the above reign with an Arabic question وَاللَّهِ أَعْلَمُ بِالصَّوَابِ and God knows what is right. This is his way of getting out of the difficulty. With our present knowledge it must be ours too.

Sikandar.—It was somewhere about the end of the reign of Richard II, that Sikandar the son of Kutub-ud-Dín ascended the throne of Kashmír. He was young having been born in his father’s later years. His mother Súrah looked after his interests. She drove away Sikandar’s father-in-law. Ráí Mádarí, a noble of the court poisoned Sikandar’s younger brother Haibat Khán and thus relieved him of this source of anxiety. But the poisoner fearing the king obtained permission to conquer Little Tibet. This he accomplished and then revolted. Sikandar in person moved against him and Ráí Mádarí was defeated and being taken prisoner he poisoned himself. Sikandar then looked after Tibet on his own account.

It was at this time that Taimúr made his descent upon India.

Sikandar at once sent in his submission and gave Taimúr's ambassadors much gold and many presents. Sikandar was ordered to present himself with proper presents on Taimúr's return from Dehli. He got ready all he could. But he was told by some of Taimúr's servants that he must give at least 3,000 horses 1,00,000 ashrafís. These vast numbers of to him valuable things were unobtainable. He therefore excused himself to Taimúr by saying that he had nothing worthy of being offered to so great a sovereign, but that he would return to his home and prepare a right royal present for him. Taimúr guessed that his nobles had been trying to squeeze all they could out of Sikandar and accepted the excuse. Sikandar got all ready, but when he got out of Kashmír with his gifts, by the pass of Bárámúla he found Taimúr had crossed the Indus and was on his way to Samarqand. Thither he sent ambassadors with his offerings and he himself returned to Kashmír.

Sikandar was an exceedingly generous man. Hearing of this, learned men from Iráq and Khorásán and Mávará-un-Nahr flocked to his court in such numbers that it became an example to the courts of those provinces. Sayyid Muhammad, one of the learned men, instructed the king in all the rites of the Muhammadan religion. But Syah But a Brahman convert to Islám was made prime minister and to him were consigned all the affairs of the state. This minister signalized his term of office by a zeal in the persecution of his former co-religionists such as has seldom been seen in the history of religious turn-coats. The king (of course acting on the advice of his prime minister) ordered all Hindús to become Musalmáns or leave the country. He forbade the use of the tíká on the forehead and commanded that women should not be burned along with their husbands. All idols of silver and gold were ordered to be melted down. Many of the Brahmins rather than obey these orders committed suicide. Other preferred exile. Some few became Musalmáns. The Sultán used every exertion to destroy idols. One famous Máhá Deo and one Chakk Deo were destroyed by his orders. When these idols were broken flames issued from the fracture. These flames were supposed by the Hindus to be miraculous, but the Sultán rightly judged they were caused by the superior science of the Brahmins, and stayed not his hand until all were destroyed. Under one of these temples it was said a copper plate was found with an inscription on it to the effect that the temple had been built by Lilitáwat Rája who had consulted the astrologers as to whether it would remain and how long. The answer was that it should stand 1,001 years and then be destroyed by a person of the name of Sikandar. The Rájá ordered this to be recorded on a copper plate and that this plate should be put in a copper box for safety under the temple. The Sultán is said to have remarked

on hearing the inscription read to him, that had the plate been on the wall he would not have destroyed the temple and thus would have upset the pretensions of the astrologers.

Sikandar by such acts as these earned for himself amongst Musalmáns the title of *Butshikan* or Iconoclast. Like the bigot he was, he forbade all use of wine in his dominions. He at last died of a burning fever in the year 819 A. H. after a reign of 20 years and 9 months. His death took place one year after the battle of Agincourt. Hence his persecution of the Brahmins was contemporaneous with the persecutions of the Lollards in England, and the result was much the same in both countries. Kashmír is now one of the head quarters of Brahmanism and lessons of intolerance learned 500 years ago seem not to have been forgotten.

Alí Sher.—Sikandar left three sons Mír Khán, to whom he gave the kingdom and the title Alí Sher, Sháhí Khán and Muhammad Khán.

When Alí Sher ascended the throne the converted Brahman Syah But was kept on as wazír. His treatment of his former co-religionists became more and more severe. The Brahmins fled the country until not so much as the sign of one remained. Syah But's persecutions soon came to an end for he was carried off by consumption. After his death Alí Sher determined to see the world. He made his brother Sháhí Khán, a young man of great ability, his viceroy during his absence. Going by the way of Jammu Alí Sher was persuaded to return to Kashmír to wrest the reins of government from Sháhí Khán. He was successful and Sháhí Khán became a fugitive in the direction of Síalkot where he met with a Ghakkar named Jasrat who had escaped from the hands of Taimúr in Samarqand and had attained to something like kingship in the Panjáb. Alí Sher followed him. But Sháhí Khán and Jasrat defeated him in a night attack and here he is lost to history. He had reigned six years and nine months when this event happened in 826 A. H. Some authorities say he went on a pilgrimage.

Zain-ul-Abidín.—Sháhí Khán ascended the throne with the title of Zain-ul-'Abidín. The events of the long reign of this the greatest of the Sultáns of Kashmír are given without any reference to their chronological sequence. There is evidently a strong desire on the part of the historian to exaggerate. It is easy to tolerate this. We must make allowances. There is no doubt that the actions of the Sultán were worthy of being chronicled: they speak for themselves. For half a century and more Kashmír was blessed with the rule of this virtuous and tolerant prince.

His first recorded acts were those of conquest, the Panjab and Tibet,

with the aid of Jásrat, coming under his rule. Making his younger brother Muhammad Khán his wazír he gave himself to the administration of justice. He filled his court with the wise of the Musalmáns and Hindus. He himself knew music well. He spent his time in superintending the agricultural improvements of the country and in increasing the means of irrigation. He published a common order that if any theft occurred the headman of the village or town where the theft occurred should be held responsible. Thus theft was banished the country and the bad actions of Syah But were rendered harmless. He abolished also the food rates which Syah But had established. He wrote all his commands on copper tablets and sent them to every town and village. Srí Bihut was made physician and on his application the Brahmans whom Syah But's persecution had driven out of the country were re-called and had lands given to them. The poll tax on Hindus was abolished and the worship of idols was tolerated. The killing of cows was done away with. He made a covenant with the Hindus that he would rule them justly and according to their own law. Everything that Sikandar had abolished he restored, such as the *thíká* on the forehead and even *sati*. He forbade the acceptance of gifts by tahsíldárs. He forbade merchants to hide merchandize in their own houses, and compelled them to expose it for sale at a reasonable profit. He released all the prisoners of former kings. Whatever countries he conquered he divided the treasure obtained amongst his troops. He punished the rebellious and raised up those of low degree. He fed the poor in a moderate fashion, so that they might not "wax fat and kick." He himself kept to one woman,—his wife, and looked on none other with a desire to possess himself of her. He increased the length of the yard and chain. For his own private use he expended the proceeds of his copper mines only. As Sikandar had melted down gold and silver idols, for purposes of coinage, the king gave order that coin should be made of copper from his copper mines. (No gold coins of Sikandar have been found. But Zain-ul-'Abidín coined extensively in silver and brass. General Cunningham has I believe gold coins of Harsha Rájah, and the Lahore museum has a gold coin of Yúsaf Sultán.)

Every man was allowed to follow his own religion. No one could act with intolerance to another. All the Brahmans who had forcibly become Musalmáns in Sikandar's time returned to their old religion. The king brought a canal from the mountains and built a city five koss in circumference. He also made other canals and bridges. The cities he built he peopled with learned men and also with the homeless in order that travellers might be fed and the needy relieved. The whole of Kashmír became well-irrigated. In Ver Nág he made a large build-

ing which he called Lánká. This Ver Nág is a large pond, and the erection of a heavy building in it was accomplished much in the same way as the masonry in wells is supported on wooden foundations. The name given to this building was Lanká, but the purpose was Muhammadan. The building was a mosque. But Muhammadan poets and Hindu jogís were received by the king. His wise men solved all kinds of difficult questions at once.

One day a woman in the city got angry with her maid-servant. She wished even to kill her, but she could not accomplish it. So she killed her own child and went unto the king in the morning and said the maid had done it. The matter was laid before the wise men who could make nothing out of it at first. But afterwards they called the maid and asked whether she had done the deed or not. She protested her innocence and was told to show her confidence in her own cause by appearing naked before the assembly. This she refused to do saying she was not going to add to the evil of being accused the additional one of exposure and shame. She was then dismissed and her accuser was called. She was asked whether her accusation were true. She replied, "If it be not, kill me." The assembly replied, "No, but if you are guiltless, strip yourself naked before us." She was proceeding to do this when the king stopped her with, "The crime is yours." The guiltless maid was set free and the guilty woman punished.

The king did not execute persons for theft (he was three hundred years ahead of England) he put them in fetters and made them work at making bricks, &c. He also forbade hunting. During Ramzán he never ate flesh. When his liberality was known, musicians of note flocked to his court. Kashmír became another country with their presence. One scholar of Abdul Qádir of Khorásán was an excellent performer on the lute. Another Mullá Jamíl was both poet and singer. His name is a proverb in Kashmír for excellence in poetry. Jab, a celebrated maker of fireworks was also patronized by the Sultán. He made gunpowder in Kashmír and was well up in other sciences. Dancers too found a patron in Zain-ul-'Abidín. Acrobats made Kashmír their home. None went away unrewarded. Dasúm a Kashmírí poet wrote an account of the events of the Sultán's reign in a book called "*Zain Harab*." Búdí But, a man who had committed to memory the whole of the Sháh Náma (a prodigious task) wrote a book on music which he repeated before the Sultán. Zain ul 'Abidín himself knew Persian, Hindí and Tibetan. According to his commands books were translated out of Arabic into Hindí, and Hindí books into Persian, &c. He ordered the Mahábhárata to be translated. By his orders the history of Kashmír, the Rajáh Taringiní was compiled. He also caused the history of Kashmír to be written in Persian.

Neghbouring rulers hearing of his fame became desirous of his friendship. Abú Saíd sent him a present of horses, mules and camels. The Sultán in return sent him aome maunds of saffron, pepper, musk, itr, (otto-of-roses) vinegar, shawls, cups and goblets of crystal, and other rarities of Kashmír. The Rája of Tibet sent him two rare swans from the lake of Mansarowar. These pleased the king very much. (The historian adds that when milk and water were mixed together and placed before them, they separated the milk from the water with their bill, and drank the former and left the latter in the vessel.)

At the commencement of his reign he had appointed his younger brother prime minister and his heir. On his death his son Haidar was appointed to the offices held previously by his father. Zain-ul-Ábidín had three sons, 'Ádam Khán with whom the Sultán was always angry; Hájí Khán who was the beloved of his father; and Bahrám Khán his youngest son to whom many jágírs had been given.

Zain-ul-Ábidín must have been very rich for it is recorded of him that he gave a kror pieces of gold, (we are not told whether they were coins or not) 400 camel loads, for the repose of the soul of a man whom he had executed because he had been guilty of the death of his brother. (It is very strange that no gold coin of this Sultán has been found. Probably the historian means rupees. The words zar زر and tila تل are however used in the text.)

In these days the Sultán fell sick. What the sickness was we are not told. But we are told how he was cured. A jogí came and said he could cure the king. He and his disciple gained admission to the king's chamber and after some time the jogí was taken away weak and faint. He said he had given the king his own spirit and had taken the king's spirit into his own body. The author is puzzled to account for the king's getting better. He supposes the jogí to have been a second Elijah and to have prayed over the king who at any rate recovered. The jogí was suitably rewarded.

It is more than we have a right to expect that 'Ádam Khán should be always content with his father's preference of Hájí Khán his next younger brother. 'Ádam returning from a successful expedition against Tibet (Tibet was the Algiers or Tunis of Kashmír in those days) brought with him much plunder and of course pleased his father. Hájí Khán was ordered to Lauharkot and 'Ádam was ordered to stay with the Sultán. Hájí went but without permission returned. He evidently thought 'Ádam was trying to work himself into the good graces of his father. The Sultán ordered Hájí back but he refused to go, and a battle was fought at Pulpul in which the elder brother and the Sultán were victorious. Hájí escaped to Bhimber. The king made a pyramid

of the heads of his opponents. The result of this rebellion was that *Ádam Khán* was made heir to the Sultán and after this there were six years of peace.

A famine is recorded about this time. The Sultán distributed amongst the people the contents of the granaries and although the famine was very severe it was met. It may have been owing to the famine (we do not know) that the king reduced the taxation to a fourth part of the produce in some places and to a seventh part in others.

Ádam Khán seems to have been a really bad man. In his government of Kamráj* he was so oppressive that the people complained to the Sultán. *Ádam* rebelled. He was, however, quieted by some strange action of his father. But *Zain-ul-Ábidín* knew his two sons. He recalled *Hájí Khán* and with his aid he drove *Ádam* out of the valley. On returning home the Sultán presented his own sword to *Hájí* and made him his heir. When freed from his brother and at peace in Kashmír *Hájí* took to drinking and caused the Sultán much anxiety. At this juncture the king was seized with dysentery. *Hájí* being constantly intoxicated, the affairs of the kingdom became confused. The nobles therefore secretly recalled *Ádam Khán* and he came and saw the king, before whom he stated the condition of affairs and asked him to appoint his successor. This the king neglected to do. *Bahrám*, the youngest brother, made the most of this opportunity and sowed the seeds of dissension between *Ádam* and *Hájí*. The result was that *Ádam* retired to Kutub-ud-Dínpúr. The Sultán became worse daily. The nobles fearing the jealousies of the brothers would break out in disturbances, would not allow them to see him. Occasionally they placed the king on the throne and ordered the drum to be beaten as though nothing was amiss. *Hájí* and *Bahrám* went out daily armed against *Ádam*. The Sultán hearing of this became worse and lost the use of his limbs and became delirious. One night *Ádam* went into the city alone to see his father. On that night the nobles assembled to elect *Hájí* as successor to the throne. *Ádam* was expelled the city and *Hájí* obtaining possession of the king's stables and treasury was acknowledged Sultán. *Ádam* went by the Bárámúlla pass to India. At this time *Hasan Khán* joined his father *Hájí Khán* from Poonch. This help was very opportune.

Zain-ul-Ábidín reigned in all 52 years. He died aged 69 in the year 877 A. H. His reign was long and to a certain extent prosperous. But its close is not a pleasant sight to contemplate. There was evidently no fixed and settled law in the land. Everything depended on the king. The nobles, as we have seen, now and then exercised

* The valley of the Pohrí is called Kámráj. Pohrí joins the Jhelum on the right bank just below Sopúr. Kámráj is therefore the N. W. valley of Kashmír.

certain functions. But their position and their privileges were undefined. There were elements of stability and lawfulness in the land, but they wanted to be worked up. There was no idea of freedom and without this, these very elements of stability became each a nucleus of selfishness and intrigue. The results were soon seen in the anarchy which ensued under the rule of nominal kings who were placed on the throne as a mark for the machinations of the different parties who were seeking pre-eminence for purposes of self-aggrandisement and plunder.

(Of three historians whom I have consulted one gives the death of Zain-ul-Ábidín in 884 A. H. and another in 878, and the third in 877 A. H. Now the coins of Haidar the successor of Zain-ul-Ábidín have on them 874 A. H., and he reigned as we shall see only one year and two months. Hence if the coins are right, all the historians are wrong. I incline to think the coins are correct.)

Haidar Sháh.—Hájí Khán taking the title of Haidar Sháh was crowned king, his brother Bahrám and his son Hasan placing the crown upon his head. The province of Kamráj was given to Hasan in jágír with the title of Amír-ul-Umrá and heir-apparent. Bahrám received as his jágír the province of Nágám.* Haidar satisfied only a portion of the nobles who came to his coronation. Many returned dissatisfied. As the Sultán was unacquainted with the country, these nobles oppressed their people as much as they liked. Haidar made his barber Lúlú his confidante and favourite. This low fellow at once showed his nature by taking bribes from all quarters, and by leading the Sultán into all kinds of evil. Hasan Khán Kachhí a worthy noble, was executed by Lúlú. At this time Ádam Khán, having gathered together an army arrived in Jammú, but when he heard of the fate of Hasan Kachhí he advanced no further. He stayed in Jammú and made himself useful in resisting the Moguls who were then troubling the country. In a skirmish he was hit in the face with an arrow and killed. Haidar, hearing of his death, had his corpse removed to Kashmír and caused it to be buried near the tomb of his father. Meanwhile the king's ineptitude became confirmed and at last he became ill. The nobles secretly desired to make Bahrám king. The son of Ádam Khán, Fath Khán, hearing of this in Sirhind where he was engaged in reducing forts and towns by order of Haidar, returned suddenly to Kashmír with much plunder. But his coming was not acceptable to the king. Things came rapidly to a crisis however. For Haidar one day getting intoxicated fell from the roof of his house and was killed after a reign of 14 months.†

Hasan Sháh.—By the exertions of Ahmad Aswad (the Black)

* Nágám, South of Srínagar in the lower hills.

† For Coin of Haidar, see No. 31, Pl. III.

Hasan the son of Haidar was proclaimed king. His opponents were imprisoned. The treasuries of the Sultán were opened and much money was distributed. Ahmad was made prime minister and his son Nauroz was made kotwál of the city. Bahrám Khán seeing the kingship had slipped out of his hands fled in the direction of India. Hasan began by renewing the edicts of Zain-ul-'Abidín which in the reign of Haidar had fallen into disuse. For this reason several discontented nobles fled to Bahrám Khán and got him ready for an invasion of Kashmír. Others wrote letters to him and invited him to the country. Bahrám returned by the way of the mountains to Kamráj. At last a battle was fought in which Bahrám and his son were captured. They were both thrown into prison. After awhile Bahrám was deprived of his eyesight by a needle being drawn through the eyes میل در چشم کشید and he died after a short interval from the agonies endured in this fearful operation.

It seems that an enemy of Ahmad's by name Zain Badr a wazír of Zain-ul-'Abidín's was one of the principals in this dreadful business. Hasan Sháh had him at once apprehended and with the very needle that Bahrám had had his eyesight destroyed, he himself was rendered blind. He remained in prison for three years after this and then died. Ahmad Aswad thus became strong. He sent Malik Bárí Bihut to assist the Rájah of Jammú, against Tátár Khán, who had been sent by the emperor of Dehlí to govern the Panjáb, and who was harassing the borders of Kashmír. They plundered some parts of the Panjáb and destroyed the town of Síalkot.

Hasan had two sons by Haiyát Khátún daughter of Syud Hasan, one was named Muhammad who was confided to the care of Malik Bárí Bihut; the other Husain was given into the hands of Malik Nauroz the son of Ahmad Aswad to be educated. The usual thing happened. Ahmad Aswad and Bárí Bihut got at loggerheads with each other. They each tried to oust the other. The nobles took up the quarrel. At last things grew to such a pitch that they fought in the very presence of the king. Malik Ahmad Aswad fared the worse of the two. He was sent to prison with numbers of his followers and all his goods were confiscated and he himself died in prison. Sultán Hasan then recalled to Kashmír an exile named Syad Násir who had been near Zain-ul-'Abidín, but the Syad died when near the Pír Panjál pass. For this reason the Sultán sent to Dehlí for his wife's grandfather Syad Hasan. The new comer soon turned the nobles against the Sultán and besides this executed great numbers of them. He also imprisoned Malik Bárí. The rest of the nobles seeing this fled. Jahlángír Mákári in his flight found refuge in Lauharkot. At last Hasan Sháh from over uxoriousness جماع از کدرت drew nigh unto death. In his last moments he con-

signed his children into hands he thought worthy of the charge. He appointed Yúsuf Khán, the son of Bahrám Khán, who was in prison and Fath Khán son of Ádam Khán who was in Jasroth their guardians and Muhammad Khán his successor. Sayyid Hasan outwardly concurred. The Sultán shortly after died. The historian adds “the duration of his reign is not known.” One MS. I have consulted says he died in 897 A. H. Prinsep puts in it 891 A. H. His silver coins are dated 876 A. H. on the obverse in figures. According to Farishtah this is one year before the death of Zain-ul-’Abidín. The histories I am inclined regard as mistaken. The reverses of the coins adhere to the 842 in words of Zain-ul-’Abidín’s coins. Hence it was all the more necessary to put the real date of the king somewhere on the coin. They therefore placed *it in figures on the obverse along with the name.* See figs. 3 and 4, Pl. I.

Muhammad Sháh, 1st time.—Muhammad Sháh was but 7 years of age when his father died. Sayyid Hasan was the chief agent in securing the throne for his grandson. Regencies have always been prolific in disturbances even in countries where there is a settled law. We shall not be surprised therefore to find that, in Kashmír, where there was no law of succession, the disturbances were many and frequent.

When the treasury was opened to the young king, and the wealth of the state and its resources were exhibited to him, he is said to have laid hold of a bow rather than on the gold and silver. From this the Kashmíris augured that he would prove a brave and warlike ruler.

But the Sayyids were at that time all-powerful in council. No one could approach the king. At that time the Rájah of Jammú was a refugee in Kashmír, from the tyranny of Tátár Khán Lodí the governor of the Panjáb. The Kashmíris getting the Rájah to help them murdered Sayyid Hasan, and thirty of his slaves, and then crossing the Jhelum destroyed the bridge. Meanwile Sayyid Muhammad, uncle of the king, took care of him. Another Sayyid murdered the son of Bahrám Khán in prison because a section of the community desired to raise him to the throne. The upshot of things was that the Sayyids and the popular party came to blows. The city became a prey to both parties. Jahángír Mákarí of Lauharkot was invited to assist against the Sayyids. His son Dáud Khán Mákarí was sent. But in an engagement with the Sayyids he was slain, together with numbers of his friends. Pyramids were made of the heads of the slain. The next day the battle was renewed on the bridge, which, breaking in the middle of the battle caused great loss on both sides. At this juncture the Sayyids asked Tátár Khán Lodí to assist them. He sent a large army, but when it arrived at Bhimber it was destroyed. The cause of the Sayyids became desperate. The popular party began to look up and take heart. The city was plundered by the

latter and destroyed by fire. In this fire 10,000 men are said to have lost their lives. This occurred in 892 A. H. The Sayyids were entirely defeated and expelled the country. The popular party got the king into their power and on their side. Paras Rám, the Rájah of Jammú was rewarded and dismissed.

The popular leaders being thus left to themselves, each one began to seek place and power for himself. In the midst of this confusion Fath Khan, grandson of Zain-ul-'Abidín gathering an army prepared to contest the throne with Muhammad Sháh. He proceeded as far as Rájáorí, but in a battle fought at Adún he was defeated as Jahángír Mákári kept true to the popular party. In a second battle he was again defeated. He then went to Jammú where collecting an army he prepared to invade Kashmír a second time. Jahángír Mákári, who seems to have been recognized as the head of the popular party recalled the Sayyids who had been exiled and joined them to his side. In the battle which was fought with Fath Khán many of the Sayyids were slain and the rest remained faithful. So Fath Khán was again defeated. But he was not turned from his purpose. Again collecting an army he a third time invaded Kashmír and was successful. Muhammad Sháh was made over to him and Saifí Wángarí was appointed his keeper. Jahángír Mákári fled and hid himself. Sayyid Muhammad, the father-in-law of Muhammad Sháh joined himself to Fath Khán. Muhammad Sháh had reigned 10 years and 7 months, Farishtah says, but other authorities say 2 years and 7 months. The copper coins of Muhammad Sháh abound. The dates on the reverse of them in Arabic words are as a rule perfectly unintelligible. His silver coins are very rare. All I have seen yet have had the date in words on their reverse 842 A. H. I have seen four with the date 842 A. H. on the obverse under the name. (See figs. 5 and 6, pl. I and fig. 32, pl. III). They do not help us in the slightest in the history of Kashmír. They only add to our confusion.

Fath Khán came to the throne in 894 A. H. and assumed the title of Fath Sháh. The prince Muhammad Sháh was therefore but a lad of about 10 years of age. (Just about this time in England, Edward V and his young brother were murdered in the Tower. Fath Sháh was not so bad as Richard III. He ordered the food and drink of the prince to be prepared according to his order and gave him a place in the palace along with his own brothers.)

Fath Sháh made Saifí Vánkarí or as another authority has it Saif-dár his prime minister. This Saifí was famous for his justice. At this time a new religious teacher named Mír Shamsí came into Kashmír from Persia. He initiated the people in the Shíá doctrines under the

semblance of teaching Sufíism. After the death of this teacher a quarrel arose between his followers and the other Muhammadans, and to that extent was it carried on, that the rival parties fought in the very presence of the Sultán.

Muhammad Sháh was taken out of prison by Malik Ajhí and Malik Zína, but when they found he was not particularly favourable to their plot, they tried to put him in prison again. Hearing of this he fled to his father's place.

After this Fath Sháh must have become reconciled to his two ministers, for the history says that he divided Kashmír between them and himself, each taking one-third. More than this he made Malik Ajhí his prime minister and Sankar his Chief Justice. (Here we have great confusion. Malik Ajhí is called in other books Malik Gájí or Gází Chakk, while Sánkar or Vánkarí is called Saifdár.) A story is given of the justice of the prime minister. A quarrel had arisen as to the possessorship of a ball of silk. The plaintiff and defendant each swore it was his. The Prime Minister asked whether it had been wound on the fingers or on a spindle. Plaintiff said "on the fingers;" defendant, "on the spindle." They unwound the ball and found that it had been wound on the fingers, hence it was made over to the plaintiff.

After some time had passed Ibrahím the son of Jahángír Mákári went to Muhammad Sháh and brought him back to Kashmír. A great battle was fought near Kohásála in which Fath Sháh was defeated and he fled by the way of Hírapúr into India having reigned nine years. (There is the greatest confusion in the histories of this period. Saifí reigned in reality not Fath Sháh. A Malik Musá Zína, named above, obtained supreme power. After him Ibrahím reigned 40 days. Then Malik Osmán reigned two months. Then Jahángír Mákári had an innings. Most of these nobles attained supreme power a second time before Muhammad Sháh's restoration.)

Muhammad Sháh. 2nd Time.—Muhammad Sháh obtaining the throne a second time made his helper thereto his prime minister and appointed Sikandar Khán his heir. The sons of Ibrahím Mákári put Malik Ajhí to death in prison. Fath Sháh soon after this returned with a mighty host and Muhammad Sháh not being able to meet him in the field fled without a battle being fought. He had reigned only 9 months and 9 days.

Fath Sháh. 2nd Time.—Fath Sháh on ascending the throne of Kashmír a second time made Jahángír Badrah his prime minister and Sankar Zína his chief justice. He reigned with great judgment. Muhammad Sháh being defeated took refuge with Sikandar Lodí of Dehlí, who sent a large army to help him. Jahángír Badrah being dissatisfied with Fath

Sháh went over to Muhammad Sháh and brought him by way of Rájáorí to Kashmír. Fath Sháh made Jahángír Mákarí general of the van of his army. In the battle which ensued Fath Sháh was defeated, and that general together with his son was slain. Fath Sháh himself fled to India and there died. (The Tawaríkh-i Kashmír places this event in 925 A. H.)

Muhammad Sháh. 3rd Time.—Muhammad Sháh on assuming the reins of government for the 3rd time imprisoned Sankar Zíná and made Malik Gájí Chakk, who was famous for his bravery and wisdom, his prime minister. This Gájí was famous for his discernment. One instance is given. A writer had a wife. By accident he left her for some time. She, during his absence, becoming impatient, married a second husband. On the first husband appearing again on the scene, a quarrel arose. The woman gave the lie to her first husband. To settle the matter, the three resorted to Gájí Chakk. As there were no witnesses, he had recourse to his own wit and said to the woman: “I believe you to be a truthful person and the writer to be a liar, kindly put some water into my inkstand, in order that I may write you a deed of separation from him, that, in the future he may give you no trouble.” The woman, who probably cared more for her second husband, put in the water with great care. Gájí again ordered her to put in a little more. She did so, using the same care as before. Seeing her thus desirous of obtaining the ink for the deed of separation, the Malik at once turned to the officers of his court and said—“This woman is the wife of the writer.” She at last confessed that this was the truth and the case of the second husband was dismissed, let us hope, with costs. (I have no doubt that Gájí Chakk is Ajhí whose death is announced in the 2nd Time of Muhammad Sháh’s rule. Anachronisms like these abound in the confusion of the period.)

When Muhammad Sháh became finally settled on the throne he punished Saifí Vánkarí and others who had opposed him. Sankar Zíná had died before. The body of Fath Sháh was brought to Kashmír and was buried near the tomb of Zain-ul-’Ábidín in 922. (According to Tawaríkh-i Kashmír, 925 A. H.) Malik Gájí Chakk imprisoned Ibráhím, but his son Abdál Mákarí went to India and thence getting help he brought Sikandar Khán the son of Fath Sháh and proclaimed him king. (سکندر خان is the phrase used.) It says nothing about coins or I should be inclined to assign my first silver coin No. 1, pl. I to this Sikandar). Gájí Chakk and Muhammad Sháh made preparations in Nolpín in the Parganna of Máhekál. This was in 931 A. H. Sikandar, not being able to meet them took refuge in the fort of Nágám. Gájí Chakk sent his son Mas’áud against him but he was killed. Neverthe-

less Sikandar being unsuccessful in Nágám fled from it. قلعہ ناگام گذشتہ گام (there is a pun here we cannot reproduce in English). The Mákári following fled along with him. Muhammad Sháh then became firmly seated on the throne. As usual, the king, listening to Gájí Chakk's enemies, drank in their calumnious accusation, and turned against the man who had made him king: Gájí being under suspicion went off to Rájáorí and there joined the Rájah of that part. During this time Sikandar Khán, obtaining help from the Mughal Bábar took possession of Lanharkot. Malik Bárí brother of Gájí Chakk hearing of this attacked him and taking him prisoner sent him to the king, who being pleased with such loyalty became reconciled to Gájí Chakk and restored him again to office. Poor Sikandar had the needle drawn through his eyes and once more Muhammad Sháh was at peace.

It seems that when Muhammad Sháh took refuge with Ibrahím Lodhí at Dehlí he took with him his son Ibrahím Khán. This son was kept at Dehlí by the Emperor, while the father was sent to Kashmír with a large army. Now at the time of the affair of Sikandar Khán, Ibrahím Lodhí owing to disturbances in Dehlí took refuge in Kashmír. Malik Gájí Chakk, who was displeased with the king for blinding Sikandar Khán, by every means he could devise, threw all the courtiers of Muhammad Sháh into prison and then imprisoned the king himself and made Ibrahím Khán king. (Here again comes the phrase بیش ہی در داشتہ hence we must own that Sikandar also was proclaimed king and therefore that he probably struck coins.) Muhammad Sháh had reigned 11 years 11 months and 11 days.

Ibrahím Sháh.—Ibrahím Sháh made Malik Gájí Chakk his prime minister. Abdál Mákári son of Ibrahím Mákári having fled from the tyranny of Gájí Chakk went to the court of Bábar and asked from him help in the shape of an army wherewith he might conquer Kashmír. This was granted and Shaikh Alí Beg and Mahmúd Khán were appointed its generals. Abdál perceiving that the Kashmíris would despise the Mughal soldiers pretended he was coming to promote the claims of Názuk Sháh (Nádir?) the son of Ibrahím Sháh. Malik Gájí Chakk, bringing with him the king Ibrahím, advanced to meet Abdál as far as Saláh in the parganna of Bánkul. Abdál sent a message to Gájí saying that as he was come with a Mughal army from Bábar the conqueror of Ibráhím Lodhí, whose army had exceeded five hundred thousand soldiers, it would be well for him at once to swear allegiance to this all-powerful sovereign, or if not to fight at once. Gájí, like a true soldier, preferred to fight. In the battle which ensued the slaughter was very great: many nobles of Ibráhím were slain, amongst whom were Malik Tází and Shere Malik. After the battle Gájí fled to the mountains, and

it is not known what became of Ibrahím Sháh : he disappeared no one knows where or how or in what direction. He had reigned 8 months and 5 days. (For a coin of our Ibrahim Sháh, see No. 16, Pl. II.)

Názuk Sháh (Nádir?).—Názuk Sháh (I retain this word because all the MSS. seem to have it, but all the coins have Nádir) on ascending the throne of his forefathers, set himself to encourage the natives of Kashmír, who were uneasy about the Mughals. The natives were pleased with him and took him to Náoshera the old capital of the Sultáns of Kashmír. Abdál Mákari became his prime minister. He pursued Malik Gájí Chakk to the confines of Jahalnagarí, but could not take him prisoner. He then returned and busied himself in the settlement of Kashmír. He divided the country into four parts, one he kept himself, one he gave to Shaikh Mír Ali, and one was given to the soldiers. (A MS. in the British Museum adds, one was given to Lanhar Mákari and one to Malik Zangí Chakk.) To the allies he had obtained obtained from Bábar he gave many presents and dismissed them in the direction of India. Then he sent a letter of harsh rebuke to Malik Gájí Chakk, but Muhammad Sháh he again recalled from his prison of Lanharkot and the two entered Kashmír as friends and thus Muhammad Sháh was again set upon the throne.

Muhammad Sháh. 4th Time.—Muhammad Sháh as a tribute of gratitude to Názuk Sháh who had reigned 20 years and 20 months (?) made him the heir-apparent. In this year died Bábar the first Mughal Emperor of Dehlí and he was succeeded by Nasír-ud-Dín Muhammad Humáyún. This we know was in the year 937 A. H. Here we get therefore to land at last. The whole of the reigns of Muhammad Sháh and his rivals is one tangled mass of confusion. There is no reliance whatever to be placed in a historian when he makes a man reign exactly the same number of years, months and days. We read 11 years and 11 months and 11 days and 20 years and 20 months ! No two histories agree. One MS. in the British Museum omits Názuk Sháh altogether. Many men undoubtedly ascended the throne in this time of confusion. The date of Abdál Mákari's invasion of Kashmír with the aid of the Mughals is placed in a MS. in the British Museum at 935 A. H. This would make the reign of Názuk Sháh more like 20 months in length. We may I think take the above date 937 A. H. as correct. After a year Malik Gájí Chakk, who had taken refuge in the mountains returned and besieged Kahrár, Abdál Mákari went to meet him and defeating him pursued him to Bhír. At this time the Panjáb was governed by Kámrán, the brother of Humáyún, Shaikh Álí Beg and Muhammad Khán the leaders of the allies who had helped Abdál Mákari, and who had left him without permission, went to Kámrán and represented to him how easy it would be to conquer

Kashmír by their assistance. Kámrán at once consented to do so and appointed Muharram Beg to co-operate with these two worthies. As soon as the Kashmírís heard of the approach of the Mughals they fled for fear to the mountains leaving all they possessed in their houses. The Mughal soldiers plundered and burnt to their hearts' content: all the Kashmírís who dared to leave the mountains to fight for their homes were slain. At first Abdál Mákári thought Malik Gájí Chakk was at the bottom of this invasion. When he found, however, that he was not in the Mughal army, he sent for him and his sons and entered into a compact with them. Joining their forces together, the two leaders took heart and, attacking the Mughals, utterly routed them and drove them back to their own country. But after this Malik Gájí Chakk could not endure the prosperity of Abdál, so he betook himself to Bhír and there resided. In this year, which was 939 A. H. (the MS. in the British Museum agrees with this date) the Sultán of Káshgar, Sáíd Sháh, sent his son Sikandar Khán together with Mírzá Haidar and 12,000 soldiers by the way of Tibet and Lár to invade Kashmír. The inhabitants, fearing the hardy valour of the central Asians fled from their homes in all directions and took refuge in the mountains. The invaders, finding everything open before them, destroyed the palaces of the olden kings and levelled them with the dust. The city was burnt. The treasury and the buried treasures were plundered, and the whole army of invaders was laden with goods and gold. Wherever the Kashmírís were found hidden they were pursued and slain or imprisoned. This state of things lasted for six months. Meanwhile Maliks Gájí Chakk and Abdál Mákári, together with other nobles, took refuge in Chakdara. But not agreeing to stay there, they went to Kháwara and Báradár. From this place by the way of Bádah they descended from the mountains and engaged in battle with the Mughals, the leaders of whom were quite willing to risk an engagement. The encounter was long and bloody. Many great and brave men on both sides were slain. The Kashmírís at one time wished to turn their backs on the field, but Malik Gájí Chakk exhorted them to play the man and remain firm. They also obtained the aid of more Kashmírís. The slaughter on both sides was awful—the dead were numberless. The struggle lasted from morning till night. In the evening the prisoners were numbered on both sides and were liberated and both armies were ready to accept peace. The Káshgar party, taking with them presents of wool, hawks, and precious things, went to Muhammad Sháh and asked his daughter in marriage to Sikandar Khán, and desired that the women whom the Mughals had in their hands, should there remain. Peace being thus concluded, the central Asians returned to their homes, and peace once more reigned in

Kashmir. In this year two comets appeared and their advent was succeeded by a great famine so severe that many people perished with hunger while others fled into exile rather than remain in their own land to starve. The massacre of Zuljír was regarded no less severe than this famine in its effects. It (the famine) lasted ten months. When the orchards bore fruit it disappeared. No sooner was the country freed from external enemies and internal troubles than the leaders of the people Gájí Chakk and Abdál Mákári disagreed. The former took up his residence at Zainpúr and the latter remained in office as wazír. Governors and rulers did as they liked. No man obtained justice. After a short time Muhammad Sháh died of fever, having reigned 50 years. Before his death, he distributed all the gold he had amongst the poor of the country. This 50 years must reckon from 891 A. H. and include all the reigns of Fath Sháh and Názuk Sháh.

Shams-ud-Dín.—It seems that this prince Shams-ud-Dín sat on the throne of his father Muhammad Sháh. Guided by his ministers he divided the whole of Kashmír amongst the nobles. The people were pleased with his rule. Gájí Chakk and Abdál Mákári renewed their disagreement and the former got possession of the young prince and took him in the direction of Kúswár. Abdál Mákári opposed him, but the two agreeing he withdrew to Kamráj where his states were while Gájí Chakk and the king went to Srínagar. Again Abdál Mákári showed uneasiness and again quiet was restored. Nothing more is known of the history of this king. (The two coins I assign to him are very poor indeed. Nos. 11 and 12, pl. I. The obverses are so illegible I have not drawn them. I have not seen a copper coin of this king yet. It is just possible that these silver coins may be those of the first Sultán.)

Názuk Sháh. 2nd Time.—After his father Názuk sat on the throne of the kingdom. (His father we are told was Ibrahím Sháh. There is confusion again here.) He had not, however, reigned more than five or six months when Mírzá Haidar Turk, having obtained a firm footing in Kashmír ruled it. In his time the Khutba was read and coins were struck in the name of *Násir-ud-Dín Muhammad Humáyún Bádsháh*. (The coins of Humáyún struck in Kashmír are exceedingly rare. They are exactly of the same type as those of the preceding kings. There are some small differences in the inscriptions in the arrangements of the letters. (See Nos. 13 and 14, pl. I.) One coin has a *ג* in the field to the right, which I consider to be the first letter of Haidar's name. (See No. 33, pl. III.) The dates of the coins fall within the period during which Mírzá Haidar ruled Kashmír nominally in his master's name. But all these ten years poor Humáyún was a fugitive in Sind

and Persia and Affghánistán and he never derived any benefit from the fact that prayers were used in Kashmír with his name in them, and coins current with his name on them.)

In the year 948 A. H. when Humáyún, flying before Sher Sháh Súrí, reached Lahore, Malik Abdál Mákári, Zangí Chakk and other petitioners wrote about Humáyún's taking Kashmír and sent the letter by the hands of Mírzá Haidar. The emperor dismissed the Mírzá in the direction of Kashmír and gave it out as his intention to follow shortly himself. When the Mírzá arrived at Bhír he was met by Abdál Mákári and Zangí Chakk. The Mírzá had with him only three or four thousand horsemen, but when he arrived at Rájáorí, Malik Gájí Chakk who was the ruler of Kashmír, arrived at Khabal Kartal (it is called Karmal by Erskine) and entrenched himself with from three to four thousand horsemen and 50,000 infantry. Mírzá Haidar therefore changed his route and went by Pabhaj (the Pamíj of Erskine) which Gají Chakk in his pride had forgotten to defend. The Mírzá crossed the mountains and descending into the plain of Kashmír took possession at once of Srínagar. Abdál Mákári and Zangí Chakk finding themselves strong, busied themselves with the affairs of the kingdom, and they gave several pergunnahs to the Mírzá. But just at this time Abdál Mákári, died after recommending his sons to the care of the Mírzá.

After the arrival of Mírzá Haidar in Kashmír, Malik Gájí Chakk went to Sher Sháh Afghán for assistance. He obtained five thousand horsemen, over whom were Husain Sharvání and Adil Khán; and two elephants. Mírzá Haidar met him between Danahídýár and Káwah, and the zephyr of victory blowing in favour of the Mírzá, the Malik and his Affghán allies fled from the field and took possession of Bahrámgalla.

In the year 950 A. H. Mírzá Haidar settled himself in the fort of Indarkot. Zangí Chakk being suspected by him fled to Gájí Chakk and in 951 A. H. the two set out, in the direction of Srínagar, determined to root out Mírzá Haidar. Bahrám Chakk, son of Zangí Chakk arrived first at Srínagar, but he was easily put to flight by two of the Mírzá's generals, and his disorganized troops falling back on the main army Zangí Chakk and Gájí Chakk also fled and returned to Bahrámgalla. After this the Mírzá employed his army in invading Tibet. He took Lansúr and many other large forts.

In 952 A. H. Gájí Chakk and his son Muhammad Chakk died of fever and ague. This year the Mírzá spent in ease.

In 953 A. H. Zangí Chakk fighting with Mírzá Haidar was killed. His head with the head of his son Gájí Khán were presented to Haidar.

In 954 A. H. ambassadors came to the Mírzá from Káshgar and he went with many nobles as far as Lár to meet them. In Lár the head of

Khwája Ujh son of Masaúd Chakk was brought to him. This man had for the space of seven years been fighting in Kamráj, but at last he had desired peace. Mírzá Mírak, swearing that all should be right, asked him to attend on him to make a treaty. But when Ujh came into the assembly he was stabbed by Mírak and he fled to the jungle pursued by Mírak who took his head off and sent it to Mírzá Haidar. Ide Zíná was far from pleased at seeing it, and, standing up in anger said, that after an oath and covenant had been made the slaughter of one man was not necessary. Haidar replied that he was not privy to the circumstances of the death.

After this Mírzá Haidar turned his attention to Kishtwár. Bandagán Kukah, Muhammad Mákári and Yahí Zíná led the van. The Mírzá took up his abode at Jhápúr near Kishtwár. The van, doing three days' journey in one descended on Dahlot, where the river winds, and they were not able to ford it, for the enemy too opposed them. The next day the army of Haidar made a diversion to the right in hopes of reaching Kishtwár, but when they reached the town of Dhár, gusts of cold air laden with dust came down upon them, the day became dark and the people of the town made an attack on them. Bandagán Kukah with five other men was slain. The rest of the army with a thousand exertions at last joined themselves with Haidar. The Mírzá was not successful: he was obliged to retrace his steps ingloriously.

In 955 he turned his attention to Tibet. Taking Rájáorí he gave it to Muhammad Nazír and Násir Alí. Paklí he gave to Mulla Abdullah and Little Tibet he gave to Mullah Qísím. Conquering Great Tibet, he appointed Mulla Hasan its governor.

In 956 he took the fort of Danel. At this time Ádam Ghakkar came before the Mírzá and asked him to pardon Daulat Chakk. He agreed to do so and Ádam called Daulat into the tent. The Mírzá, on his coming in, showed him no honour. For this reason Daulat became very angry, and taking away the elephant he had brought as a present, he went away. The courtiers wished to pursue him but the Mírzá forbade them. After some time Haidar returned to Kashmír. Daulat Chakk and Gází Khan and Jai Chakk went to Haidar Khán who had fled from Islám Sháh to Rájáorí. When Islám Sháh who was pursuing the Niyázís arrived at the town of Madawár from Naoshahra, Haibat Khán Niyázi sent Sayyid Khán to him. Sayyid Khán making propositions of peace gave up the mother and son of Haibat Khín Niyázi to Islám Sháh who turning back went to the town of Bán near Siálkot and agreed to the conditions. The three Kashmíris above-mentioned then took Haibat Khán to Bárámúla and wished to take him to Kashmír, and carry away Haidar. As Haibat did not see his way to doing this he sent

a Bráhman to Haidar with conditions of peace. When he had received a promise from Haidar he went to live at Hír (Nír in MS. No. 6571 opening 190 in British Museum) in Jammú and the Kashmíris went to Islám Sháh. Ghazí Khán Chakk, however, went to Mírzá Haidar. (It is evident that at this time the Kashmíris were tired of Haidar. They wished Islám Sháh to be king. We do not read that Islám ever went so far as Kashmír. The nobles, however, must have struck coins in his name, using the formula *struck in Kashmír* on the reverse. I have seen two coins of Islám Sháh of this time. No. 15, pl. I is of this king. It was a common practice to strike coins anticipating events which did *not* come to pass. The date on this coin is 957 A. H. It may have been struck by Haidar as a compliment to Islám Sháh.)

In the year 957 A. H. Mírzá Haidar being at peace with his neighbours sent presents of saffron to Islám Sháh by the hands of Khwájah Shams Mughal. In the following year Islám Sháh sent the ambassadors back with presents of silk cloth and goods accompanied by Yásín (Básín in above MS.) as envoy. Mírzá Haidar sent back Yásín laden with shawls and saffron to Islám Sháh.

Mírzá Qarrá Bahádur was appointed governor of Bhirpul (or Bharmal) and along with him were sent from amongst the Kashmíris Ídí Zíná and Názuk Sháh, Husain Mákári and Khwájah Hájí. The whole of these with Mírzá Qarrá came back to Indarkot and went thence to Bárámúla and became rebellious. The reason of this rebellion was that the Mughals (the forces of Mírzá Haidar) were not acceptable to them. When the Mughals informed the Mírzá of this he told them they were no less ready than the Kashmíris to rebel. Husain Mákári sent his brother Alí Mákári to Mírzá Haidar to make excuse for the Kashmíris and to call again the army. Haidar was not aware of the condition of things, and told them that the Kashmíris were powerless and that there was no use in calling the army.

On the 27th of Ramzán a great fire burst out in Indarkot. Mírzá Qarrá and his following sent word that their houses were destroyed, and asked for orders saying that if convenient they would rebuild their houses and next year go to Bhirpul. Mírzá Haidar was displeased at this conduct. Nevertheless whether he would or not the army went towards Bhirpul. At night time, however, Ídí Zíná and the rest of the Kashmíris left the Mughals and came to the pass of Bhirpul and took with them Husain Mákári, Alí Mákári and others in order that they might not be slain by the Mughals. When it was morning the men of Bhirpul fought with the Mughals who were fastened in the mountains. Sayyid Mírzá fled and went into the fort of Bhirpul. About 80 Mughals, men of note were slain in this affair. Muhammad Nazír and Mírzá

Qarrá Bahádur were captured. The rest of the army came to Bahrám-galla. When Mírzá Haidar heard of this he was sorely vexed and ordered all the silver vessels to be broken and the coin now current in Kashmír was struck from them. Jahángír Mákári at this time got into favour and the estates of Husain Mákári were bestowed upon him. Trades-people had horses and outfits given to them and were made soldiers. After this news came that Mulla Abdulláh, hearing of the exodus of the Kashmírís, was coming to Kashmír. When he got near to Bárámúla the Kashmírís crowded on him and slew him. Khwájah Qásim was slain in little Tibet. Muhammád Nazír was imprisoned in Rájáorí. The Kashmírís leaving Bahrám-galla came to Hambarapúr. Mírzá Haidar was thus forced to fight them and he came to Indarkot. He had with him only a thousand men. With him were Mughal nobles who had 700 men more. The whole took up a position in Shaháb-ud-Dínpúr. Daulat Chakk and Ghází Khán Chakk went to Hambarapúr to help Ídí Zíná and coming from that place assembled in Khánpúr. Mírzá Haidar took up his position in the plain of Khálidgarh near Srínagar. Fath Chakk, whose father had been slain by the Mughals, Khwájah Bahrám brought, with 3,000 men to Indarkot to revenge his father's death. They burned all the palaces of Mírzá Haidar in the Safá gardens. When Mírzá Haidar heard of this he said, "I have not brought this from Káshgar that I might by the grace of God, again build it." Jai Alí in revenge burnt the palaces of Zain-ul-'Abidin in Suryápúr, but this did not please Mírzá Haidar and the army burnt the palaces of Ídí Zíná and Nauroz Chakk in Srínagar. Mírzá Haidar himself took up a position in Khánpúr in which place was a willow tree under which 22 horsemen could stand. If one branch of this tree were shaken the whole tree was moved. At last the Kashmírís came from Khánpúr and took up a position at Adnipúr and not more than a distance of two kos remained between the two armies. Mírzá Haidar determined to make a night attack on the enemy. He first of all made his own younger brother Mírzá Abdur Rahmán his heir-apparent and inaugurated him, then getting his men into order he prepared for the night attack. It so happened that the night was very cloudy and when he got to the tent of Khwájah Hájí who was the soul of the rebellion and the agent of the Mírzá, the darkness hid everything. Sháh Nazar a cuirassier of Mírzá Haidar said, "When I shot an arrow the voice of the Mírzá fell on my ear, saying, 'you are at fault.' I then knew that the arrow had accidentally struck the Mírzá." It is also said that a butcher shot him in the thigh with an arrow. In another tradition it is stated that Kamál Kúka killed him with a sword. But except an arrow-wound in his heart no other thing was visible. In reality this is the sum of the traditions. When morning

dawned it became noised abroad amongst the Kashmíris that a Mughal was lying slain in their camp. When Khwájah Hájí came to view the corpse, he said it was that of Haidar. He held up the head from the earth but nothing but the last breath remained. He moved his eyes and gave up the ghost. After this the Mughals fled to Indarkot and the Kashmíris buried the corpse of Haidar and then pursued the Mughals. They took refuge in Indarkot and for three days defended themselves. On the fourth day Muhammad Rúmí loaded the cannon with copper coins and fired them on the enemy. Every one who was struck with them died. At last, however, Khánmai, the widow of Mírzá Haidar, and her sister Khánjí spoke to the Mughals and said, "Inasmuch as Mírzá Haidar has departed from our midst, it would be better to make peace with the Kashmíris." The Mughals agreed to this and sent Amír Khán, builder, to the Kashmíris to ask for peace. The Kashmíris were pleased at this and wrote a letter with oath and covenant that they would not persecute the Mughals any more. The government of Haidar Turk lasted for ten years.

Názuk Sháh. 3rd Time.—When the doors of the fort were opened, the Kashmíris went into the treasury of Mírzá Haidar and plundered it, taking away the beautiful and delicate garments it contained. The family of the Mírzá was taken to Srínagar and placed in the hands of Manújá. The Kashmíri chiefs then divided Kashmír between themselves. Daulat Chakk got the pargannah of Deosar, Ghází Khán the pargannah of Wáhí; Yúsuf Chakk and Bahrám Chakk obtained Kamráj. Khwájah Hájí the wakíl of the Mírzá took a lákh of shawls and the whole of the nobles of Kashmír, but especially Idí Zíná, took the government of the province into their hands. Názuk Sháh as a kind of shadow of a king was upheld in name. In truth Idí Zíná was king. (coin No. 10, pl. I. I attribute to this period. It is struck in the name of Nádir Sháh. The reverse bears the date 957 A. H. and was probably struck from an old die of Haidar's, see Nos. 13 and 14 which were struck by Haidar in the name of Humáyún. The only sign I can find of Haidar on the coins is the solitary ζ I have before mentioned on coin No. 33, pl. III.)

In 959 A. H. Sankar Chakk son of Gájí Chakk who was without any estates, while Ghází Chakk who called himself the son of Gájí had many, desired to leave Kashmír. The whole story is this, Sankar Chakk was without any doubt or question the son of Gájí Chakk. Ghází Khán Chakk, although he was called the son of Gájí, in reality was not his son. For Gájí after the death of his own brother Hasan Chakk took to wife the widow who was then with child. Two months after Ghází Khán Chakk was born. Hence Sankar Chakk wished to leave Kashmír (*i. e.*, I

suppose the city of Kashmír or Srínagar) and repair to Idí Zíná. When this got wind, Daulat Chakk and Ghází Khán Chakk sent Ismá'il Hánit and Harjú with 100 men to call back Sankar Chakk, telling them to bring him by force if he would not come otherwise. He would not come, but fled to Idí Zíná. In the end Sankar Chakk had given to him the jágírs of Kothár, Kháwin and Madurú and was thus satisfied, and so the disturbance was quelled.

In those days there were four parties in Kashmír (1) Idí Zíná and his party, (2) Hasan Mákári son of Abdál Mákári and his party, (3) the Kapúrís who were composed of Balíram Chakk, Yusuf Chakk and others, (4) the Kásís who were Gájí Chakk, Daulat Chakk and Ghází Khán Chakk. In order to strengthen the Chakk interest, the following marriages took place:—The daughter of Yahí Zíná married Husain Khán son of Gájí Chakk; the daughter of Daulat Chakk married Muhammad Mákári son of Abdál Mákári; and the sister of Yúsuf Chakk son of Zangí Chakk married Ghází Khán Chakk. Being thus united for a short time the usual result followed, they quarrelled and separated. Ghází Khán Chakk went to Kamráj, Daulat Chakk to Súrpúr, the Mákári faction to Pákul. By reason of this quarrel Idí Zíná remained in a state of grief in Srínagar. When the egg-plant came in season Idí Zíná ordered fowl to be cooked with the fruit: this kind of food is delicious and the Kashmírís like it. Afterwards when Bahrám Chakk and Sayyid Ibráhím and Sayyid Yaqúb accepted his invitation to dine off the above-mentioned viands (but Yúsuf Chakk would not accept the invitation), Idí Zíná seized the three and put them in prison. Yúsuf getting to hear of this fled to Daulat Chakk at Kamráj, taking with him 3,000 horsemen and 700 infantry. When Idí Zíná saw that the Kashmírís were going over to the Chakk faction, he set free from prison the Mughals Mírzá Qarrá Bahádur, Mírzá Abdur Rahmán, Mírzá Ján Mírak, Mírzá Yakla, Mír Sháh, Shahzáda Beg Mírzá, Muhammad Nazír and Jar 'Alí, and supplied them with horses and armour and pay and took up a position at Chakkpúr. Meanwhile the Sayyids Ibráhím and Yaqúb, by the help of their troopers, escaped from prison and joined Ghází Chakk at Kamráj. Bahrám Chakk was not able to escape. The next day Ghází Khán Chakk came to Srínagar with 30 cavalry and kept up a constant fight with Idí Zíná from the Idgáh where he had taken up his position. Idí Zíná sent the Mughals against him. He, however, destroyed all the bridges and the Mughals did nothing. Meanwhile Daulat Chakk came to help Ghází Khán. At last Bábá Khalíl went to Idí Zíná and said, "You trust the Mughals and drive the Kashmírís from your sight. This is not expedient." Accordingly Idí Zíná made peace with the Kashmírís and dismissed the Mughals and their families. Khánjí, the sister of Mírzá

Haidar went by the way of Paglí to Kábul and the families of Jar 'Alí and others were put to the sword. Khánam fled to Káshgar. After this news came that Haibat Khán and Sayyid Khán and Shahbáz Khán Affghans of the Niyází tribe were invading Kashmír and that they had arrived at the salt range in the pargannah of Bánihál. Idí Zíná Husain Mákári, Bahrám Chakk, Daulat Chakk and Yúsuf Chakk, joining their forces together, opposed the Niyázís. The two parties fought well, Bíbí Rába, the wife of Haibat Khán Niyází joining the fight and striking 'Ali Chakk with her sword. At last, however, she and the three Niyází leaders were slain and the Kashmírí allies returned to Srínagar flushed with victory. They sent the head of the Affgháns to Islám Sháh Súrí by the hands of a man named Yaqúb. After this of course the allies disagreed. Idí Zíná took up his residence in Khágárh together with Fath Chakk, Lauhar Mákári, Yúsuf Chakk, Bahrám Chakk and Ibráhím Chakk. Daulat Chakk, Ghází Khán Chakk, Husaín Mákári and Sayyid Ibráhím joining themselves together settled in the Idgáh. Two months passed thus. Then Yúsuf Chakk, Fath Chakk and Ibráhím Chakk left Idí Zíná and joined Daulat Chakk, who finding himself thus supported attacked Idí Zíná who not being able to oppose him fled, without trying the chance of a battle, to Merv. Wishing to change horses, by accident a horse kicked him in the breast and at Simále he disappeared altogether, *i. e.*, he died in that place and his corpse was brought to Srínagar and buried in the village of Músá Zíná. The nobles then deposed Názuk Sháh who was king only in name, and began to govern the country on their own account. Názuk Sháh, this third time, reigned ten months.

Ibráhím Sháh II.—Ibráhím II* was the son of Názuk Sháh. As Idí Zíná had departed this life, Daulat Chakk came into the capital and took upon himself the affairs of the kingdom. Inasmuch as he deemed it expedient to have some one king in name he set up Ibráhím Sháh that he might rule nominally under him. At this time Khwájah Hái the wakíl of Mírzá Haidar left Khaigal and took refuge with Islám Sháh. At the same time Shams Zíná and Bahrám Chakk were thrown into prison. At the 'Id-i Fitr, Daulat Chakk went to practice archery outside the city. Yúsuf Chakk was also there and riding on his horse. A foot-soldier who was gathering arrows got entangled in the horse's legs and Yúsuf was thrown from his horse and his neck was broken.

In 960 A. H. Daulat Chakk and Ghází Khán Chakk again disagreed and the whole of Kashmír was involved in the quarrel. Husain Mákári and Shams Zíná who were in Hindustán in 961 returned and joined themselves to Ghází Khán Chakk. Bahrám Chakk and the sons

* Coin No. 16, pl. II may be of this Ibráhím. All the coins with name Ibráhím on them seem to possess the date 842 in Arabic words.

of Yúsuf Chakk joined themselves to Daulat Chakk. These dissensions and quarrels lasted two months. At last a husbandman assuming the garb of an ambassador came to Daulat Chakk and said, “Ghází Khán Chakk has sent me to ask why you keep all these men near you for they are all your enemies.” To Ghází Khán Chakk he said, “Daulat Chakk is willing to accept peace why still stir up strife?” This trick succeeded and produced peace. Shams Zíná again fled to India.

During these times the inhabitants of Great Tibet made an incursion into Kashmír and drove away the flocks of sheep of the pargannah of Kháwan and Bára which were in the estates of Habíb Chakk the brother of Nasrat Khán Chakk. On account of this Daulat Chakk, Sankar Chakk, Ibráhím Chakk, and Haidar Chakk the son of Ghází Khán Chakk and other nobles together with an army were sent by the way of Lár to Great Tibet. Habíb Khán Chakk who was with the army, going by the way the sheep had been driven, used such expedition that he fell suddenly on the fort of Great Tibet and took it killing the governor. The garrison all fled. Habíb Chakk told his brother Darvesh Chakk to scour the country but he neglected to do this. Habíb, however, in spite of unhealed wounds, mounting his horse, took palaces and forts and the inhabitants of Great Tibet, not being able to withstand him, submitted. In one of the palaces forty persons were taken on the roof. Much importunity was used to preserve their lives. 500 horses, 1,000 pieces of pattú, 50 yaks, 200 sheep and 200 tolahs of gold were offered in their stead, but Habíb Khán would not give ear to their words: he slew the whole of the forty. Riding away from that fort he went to another which suffered the same fate. The inhabitants of Great Tibet then sent him for his acceptance 3,000 horses, 500 pieces of pattú, 200 sheep and 30 yaks. He also took from the Tibetans some five Káshgarí horses which had fallen into their hands. Haidar Chakk, son of Ghází Khán Chakk sent Khání his foster-brother to Habíb and told him that as the Tibetans were minding these Káshgarí horses for his father Ghází Khán, it was necessary that the horses should be sent to him in order that he might forward them to his father. Habíb Chakk sent nearly 200 men with the horses in order that they might quarrel among themselves in the way, but they would not do so, and at last they arrived in Srinagar with their charge.

In the year 962 a great earthquake committed much ravages in Kashmír. Many towns and villages were destroyed. Nílú and 'Adampúr were washed away by the river Jhelum. In the town of Mawur which is situated at the foot of the mountains there was a great landslip which killed nearly 600 persons.

Ismáíl Sháh.—When five months had passed of the reign of Ibrá-

hím Sháh, who was in truth the agent of Daulat Chakk, Ghází Khán Chakk took the affairs of the kingdom into his hands and Daulat Chakk was defeated and blinded. (I cannot tell which are the coins of Ibráhím Sháh I, and which of Ibráhím Sháh II. They are all like No. 16, pl. II, the date is 842 in Arabic words.) Ghází Khán set up Ismáíl Sháh on the throne in 963 A. H. (For coin of Ismáíl see No. 17, pl. II. Date 842 in Arabic words.) In that year Habíb Khán Chakk desired to join himself to Daulat Chakk and with his intention went towards Mardádún. Ghází Khán Chakk then said to Nasrat Chakk brother of Habíb, it would be as well for us to seize Daulat Chakk before your brother comes, for afterwards it will be difficult to do so. Once upon a time Daulat Chakk going on board a boat, went to a pond in the lake that he might kill water-fowl. Ghází Khán coming after him took his horses, and when he fled to the mountains pursued him and taking him prisoner blinded him. After this Habíb Khán Chakk came and Ghází Khán who was not pleased with him gave Názuk Chakk the nephew of Daulat Chakk much inconvenience and trouble. He was not at all at ease about the blinding of his uncle and for that reason Ghází Khán Chakk wished to imprison him, but Názuk, getting news of this fled to Habíb Khán Chakk. (For coin of Ismáíl Sháh, see No. 17, pl. II.)

Habíb Sháh son of Ismáíl Sháh.—After Ismáíl Sháh had reigned two years he died. Ghází Khán elevated his son to the throne. Towards the end of 964 A. H. Nasrat Khán Chakk, Názuk Chakk, Sankar Chakk, brother of Ghází Khán Chakk, Yúsuf Chakk and Hastí Khán Chakk met together and took an oath and covenant to this effect that as Ghází Khán Chakk was eaten up by physic, and his brother Husain Chakk is in prison, we will release him and slay Ghází Khán. Ghází got to hear of all this. Appeasing Yúsuf and Sankar Chakk he called them into his presence. Habíb Khán Chakk, Nasrat Khán Chakk, and Darvesh Khán Chakk said they would like lawyers and learned men to plead for them, and then come or flee as it pleased them. Nasrat Chakk came without any promise being given him and was at once imprisoned. Habíb Chakk and Názuk Chakk destroyed the bridges and departed. Hastí Khán Chakk with all his followers joined them. Ghází Khán sent a large army against them and a great battle resulted. His army was beaten and several were taken prisoners. Habíb Khán being victorious departed to the mountains of Mámún. After the defeat his army had sustained, Ghází Chakk took the field himself in order that he might defeat Habíb; and he went to Badúmara. Thence by water with 3 elephants and 3,000 men he went to the plain Khálidgarh. Habíb Khán here opposed him with twenty men, but after a hard fight he was compelled to flee. At the bridge of the Jamja his horse stuck fast. Mean-

while an elephant driver of Ghází Khán Chakk came up and took him prisoner. Ghází Khán Chakk told him to take off his head. He tried to do so, but Habíb got the man's hand in his mouth and held it in his teeth. At last, however, he managed to sever his head from his body, and he carried it to Kala, the name of his residence and hung it there on the door. Darvesh Chakk and Názuk Chakk also fell into their hands and were treated similarly. After this Bahrám Chakk returned from India and the jágír of Khuba Hámún was given to him. Getting permission he left Srínagar and went to his birthplace Dancha in the pargannah of Zaingarḥ. Sankar Chakk, Fath Chakk and others soon joined him and going to Súbapúr they raised the standard of rebellion. Ghází Khán Chakk sent his sons and brothers against them. They were not able to oppose them and fled to the mountains. Ghází Khán sent his party after them and ordered them to pursue until they captured. The next day news came that Bahrám Chakk had escaped from Sarkob, and that Sankar Chakk and Fath Chakk had left him. Ghází Khán himself pursued them to Khoba Hámún and for six days searched everywhere for Bahrám Chakk, but he was not taken. However Ahmad Jozín brother of Haidar Chakk son of Ghází Khán Chakk agreed to pursue Bahrám until he took him, so Ghází Khán returned to the city. Ahmad Jozín went to Sarkob the residence of the Ríshís or Sufís and arrested them and made enquiries about Bahrám. The Ríshís said they had placed him in a boat and conveyed him to the residence of Amír Zíná in Bádelí. The Ríshís are a people who are engaged at all times in agriculture and tree planting. When Ahmad Jozín came to Amír Zíná after much search he succeeded in arresting Bahrám Chakk whom he took to Srínagar where the people killed him and Ahmad Jozín was elated with his success. In those days Sháh Abulmuálí who had fled from Lahore, and had been imprisoned by the Ghakkars managed to escape with the fetters still on his feet. Making friends with Kamál Khán Ghakkar, he, after the fashion of Mírzá Haidar, desired to invade Kashmír. When he arrived in Bajáorí a company of Mughals met him. The blinded Daulat Chakk, Fath Chakk and others of the Chakk faction and Lauhar Vángarí all joined Sháh Abulmuálí and in 965 A. H. he set out for Kashmír. When he arrived at Bárámulla Haidar Chakk and Fath Chakk who were guarding the pass fled and went to Bádúkhí. The Sháh proceeding justly, would not allow any of his soldiers to oppress the people. Ghází Khán Chakk making his brother Husain Chakk leader of the van, himself took up a position at Khanúd. The Kashmírís who were with Sháh Abulmuálí left him without leave and attacked Husain Chakk and caused him to flee. Ghází Khán Chakk went to his assistance and fighting bravely many Kashmírís were slain by him and the battle

turned in his favour. Sháh Abulmuálí seeing this state of things fled without further resistance. In his flight his horse became very tired, but a Mughal whom he came across gave him a fresh one and took the tired one and stood with it on the road. When the Kashmírís who were pursuing Abulmuálí came up to the place he held them all at bay for some time until, his quiver becoming empty, they rushed upon him in a mass and slew him. During the delay Abulmuálí escaped. Ghází Khán returning arrived in Bádúkhí and every Mughal whom they brought to him he beheaded. But the Háfiz Mírzá Husainí who was from the singers of Humáyún he did not slay on account of his good singing. After this Nasrat Khán Chakk was liberated from prison, and sent into the service of Jalál-ud-Dín Akbar, where becoming acquainted with Bairám Khán he tried to ingratiate himself in his favour.

In 966 A. H. a change came over the disposition of Ghází Khán Chakk and resulted in much oppression and violence to the people who all became opposed to him. He by chance heard that his son Haidar Chakk wished to take the kingdom of Kashmír from him. So he called his wakíl Muhammad Janíd and Bahádur Bihut and sent them to admonish his son and advise him to put such imaginations out of his head. They went to him and petitioned him. But Haidar Chakk snatched a dagger out of Muhammad Janíd's girdle and buried it in his stomach. People flocked in and arrested Haidar and took him to his father who ordered him to be executed and his body to be suspended on a door in Zínágaṛh. All who joined him also were executed.

In 967 A. H. Mírzá Qarrá Bahádur came from India with a large army and nine elephants. For three months he stayed in Lálpúr. From the Kashmírís Nasrat Chakh, Fath Chakk and others, and from the Ghakkars also a large body joined him. He evidently hoped that a lot of Kashmírís would join him. But meanwhile the leaders who had come in deserted him and went over to Ghází Khán. By reason of this desertion there was much indecision in the invading army. Ghází Khán coming from Kashmír arrived in Naurozkot and sent his infantry against the invaders and defeated them. Mírzá Qarrá fled to the fort of Daira. The next day he again fled before the attack of infantry and his elephants fell into the enemy's hands while five hundred Mughals were killed.

Five years had passed of the reign of Habíb Sháh when Ghází Khán Chakk determined to put him on one side and unfold the royal banners in his own behalf. Ceasing to act therefore in the name of another, he ordered the Khutba to be read and coins to be struck in his own name, taking the title of Ghází Sháh.

(I have never seen a coin of any metal with Habíb's name on it. None of my numismatic friends have one. And yet he reigned five

years. I am inclined to think that the coin with the name of *Mahmúd* on it was struck by him. I read the date on this coin as 961 A. H. See fig. 18, pl. II. The unit word and figure are both almost gone. The reverse of No. 28, pl. I, is, however, precisely similar and gives 961 undoubtedly which is two years before the accession of Akbar. No wonder the Rev. J. Loewenthal said, "There is, however, great confusion in all the dates of Kashmírian History," p. 280, I. A. B. S. 1864. Naráyan Kol states that *Habíb Khán* became king of Kashmír in 960. In 961 he committed great mistakes in the administration of justice, so that the pillars of State became ashamed of him. Hence 'Alí *Khán* put the crown on the head of *Ghází Khán* his brother. This was the beginning of the Chakk dynasty. 'Azam puts the beginning of the Chakk dynasty in 962 A. H. He calls *Habíb* son of *Ismáíl Sháh* while Naráyan Kol gives *Shams-ud-Dín* (*Ismáíl*'s brother) as the name of his father. If Naráyan Kol be correct then the coin of *Mahmúd* may be assigned to *Habíb*. It is not uncommon for a king to rule in one name and for his coins to bear another. The *Islám Sháh* of the coins is the *Salím Sháh* of history. There is, according to Lieutenant Newall, an inscription of *Habíb*'s in Kashmír dated 981 A. H. I. A. B. S. 1864. But Newall himself makes *Habíb* die in 1557 A. D. = 965 A. H. By the way he calls *Nádir Sháh* *Tarkh Sháh*. For my text I am indebted to Farishtah and I have followed him. Naráyan Kol cannot be right as to the length of *Habíb*'s reign. For as we have seen Akbar was reigning in India and he ascended the throne in 963 A. H. When authorities are so conflicting and coins cannot be trusted, it is hard to come to a decision as to what is correct.)

Ghází Sháh.—*Ghází Sháh* by reason of leprosy had lost his voice, his fingers were nearly dropping off and his teeth were much decayed. In 968 A. H. Fath Chakk, Lauhar Vánkarí and other Kashmíris coming under the suspicion of *Ghází Sháh* betook themselves to the mountains. Husain Chakk brother of *Ghází Sháh* was sent with 2,000 men to pursue them. As it was winter the rebels perished: some few who escaped fled to Khatwár, but becoming uneasy there, they sought refuge with Husain Chakk who entreated forgiveness for them from *Ghází Sháh*, who not only forgave them but bestowed lands on them. In 970 *Ghází Sháh*, leaving Kashmír went to Lár. Thence he sent Fath *Khán* Chakk, Násir Kibatu and his own son Ahmad *Khán* together with some nobles to invade Great Tibet. When they got within five koss of Tibet Kalán, Fath *Khán* Chakk, without obtaining permission from Ahmad *Khán* left the army and went into the city. Inasmuch as the Tibetans did not desire war, they were ready to make great presents to him, and he quickly came out from the midst of them. Ahmad *Khán* seeing

this said to himself, that inasmuch as Fath Khán has entered Tibet and returned, why should I not do the same? All Kashmír would praise me. He therefore determined to go alone. Fath Chakk remonstrated with him, and told him that if he were determined to go he ought not to go alone. He would not listen to him, and went accompanied but by 500 men. Fath Khán retired. The Tibetans seeing Ahmad coming alone, attacked him and he not being able to withstand them, fled to Fath Khán and ordered him to the rear-guard of the army for the day while he pressed forward without delay. The Tibetans still pressed on, and when they found Fath Khán alone, engaged him in battle. He, fighting with all zeal and alone, was slain. Ghází Sháh hearing this news was exceedingly angry, and turned away his face from his son as was meet after such conduct. The reign of Ghází Sháh was cut short after four years.*

Sultán Husain Sháh.—The “Tárikh-i-Kashmír” says Husain Sháh, ascended the throne in 971 A. H. Two coins Nos. 20 and 21, pl. II, give 970. I prefer the testimony of these coins to that of the historians. The date is duplicated, it is given once in Persian words and once in figures and both dates agree.

Husain Sháh was the brother of Ghází Sháh. In 971 A. H. Ghází Sháh invaded Great Tibet and took up a position at Muladghaṛ. On account of his being a victim of leprosy he lost his eyesight. He made it a habit to oppress his subjects and from innocent people exacted heavy fines. By reason of this his subjects were estranged from him and formed themselves into two companies against him. One faction followed Ahmad Khán his son, and the other his brother Husain Chakk. When Ghází Sháh heard of this he returned from his expedition to Tibet and re-entered Srínagar, and as he showed greater friendship to Husain Chakk he placed him on the throne instead himself, and the whole of the nobles and ministers came to the house of Husain and gave in their firm allegiance to him. After 15 days Ghází Sháh divided the whole of his robes and goods into two parts, one part he gave to his own sons, the other to shopkeepers telling them to give him their value. The shopkeepers at once resorted to Husain to ask for justice. Husain advised Ghází Sháh to desist from making his demand. On this Ghází wished that he had made his own son his successor. Husain hearing this summoned Ahmad Khán, Ghází’s son and Abdál Khán and others of the family to his presence, and made them take an oath and give their word to obey him. Ghází Sháh being ashamed at this attempt to subvert the

* For coin of Ghází Sháh see No. 18, pl. II. Dr. Stulpnagel has I believe the only duplicate known. Mine from which I drew No. 19 is now in the British Museum.

king called round him a party of Mughals and formed a faction of his own. Husain remained firm and opposed him. The headmen of the city and towns intervened and extinguished the flame of rebellion. Ghází Sháh, leaving the city, took up his abode at Rahínpúr and after three months again came into Srínagar. Husain Sháh being firm in his government divided Kashmír into portions. In 972* he sent his eldest brother Sankar Chakk to Rájáorí and Naushahra which he gave him in jágír. But after this he heard that Sankar had rebelled. For this reason he gave the jágír to Muhammad Mákári and sent an army under Ahmad Khán and Fath Khán Chakk, Khwájah Masaúd and Mának Chakk against Sankar and they gradually became victorious. Husain Khán went out to meet them and brought them to Srínagar, but after awhile it came to his knowledge that Ahmad Khán and Muhammad Khán Mákári and Nasrat Khán Chakk had determined to assassinate him. He therefore wished to arrest them. They, getting to know of this, came in a body before Husain, who knowing they were acquainted with his purpose sent Lodní Lond to them, that he might get them all in one place and make each person take an oath that he would have enmity with no second person. The Malik did his business well and made them all inclined towards peace, and they all came into the house of Ahmad Khán and inasmuch as this last named gentleman had not seen Husain Sháh for some time they determined to carry him into the king's presence. Ahmad Khán with much flattery consented and together with Nasrat Khán Chakk and Malik Lodní Lond they went to the palace of Husain. The Qází Hábíb, who was of a city family, and Muhammad Mákári being present, the assembly was held. When evening came Husain told them he was going to have a game and that they might withdraw to the upper room and enjoy themselves and he would shortly join them. When they had gone to the upper room he ordered some persons to imprison them. After this he sent 'Alí Khán and Khán-i-Zamán whose real name was Fath Khán against Sankar Chakk with a large army to Rájáorí. They defeated him and returned victorious. Khán-i-Zamán, getting all power into his hands, ordered all the nobles every day to put in an appearance at his house. In the year 973 A. H. people calumniated the Khán before Husain Chakk so that he commanded that no one should visit him. The Khán was making preparations for leaving Kashmír when Husain Mákári coming to him asked him, "Why do you leave the country? Husain Sháh has left his palace to go hunting. You can now seize the whole of his goods and treasures." These words pleased the Khán and with the aid of Fath Chakk, Lauhar Vánkarí and the like of them he went to the palace of Husain

* Coin No. 22 is dated 972 A. H.

Sháh and set fire to the doors and tried to deliver Muhammad Mákári, and Ahmad Khán and Nasrat Khán from prison. At that time Masaúd Mának, who was superintendent of the prison, threw water into the hall of the palace until it became mud. Daulat Khán, a follower of the Chakks, putting on his quiver stood ready. Bahádur Khán, the son of Khán-i-Zamán rushed upon him and struck at him with his sword, but it alighted on his quiver. Daulat Khán let fly an arrow which struck the horse of Bahádur in the eyes and caused it to rear so that Bahádur was unhorsed. Musaúd Mának at once cut off his head and Khán-i-Zamán who was standing outside fled. Masaúd Mának pursued him and took him prisoner and led him into the presence of Husain Sháh. The king commanded that they should take him to Zínágárh, and there cut out off his ears and nose and hands and feet and hang the body on a door. Calling Masaúd Mának his son, he gave him the title of Mubáriz Khán, and with it the jágír of Bálkul.

In the year 974 A. H. Husain Sháh gave orders that Ahmad Khán son of Ghází Sháh, Nasrat Khán Chakk and Muhammad Khán Mákári should all be blinded. Ghází Sháh made every exertion to get this order reversed, and as he was sick he died. Husain Sháh then founded a school and sought the company of the pious and learned. To a party of these he gave Zainpúr as a jágír.

In 975 A. H. Husain Sháh heard from Lodní Lond that Masaúd Mának Mubáriz Khán had spread abroad that "inasmuch as the king has called me his son, he must also give me a portion of his treasure." Husain Sháh was exceedingly troubled on hearing this and went to Masaúd's house, where, seeing many horses in the stable his mind turned altogether against him, and he ordered him to be imprisoned and Lodní Lond was honoured with the offices and position Masaúd had enjoyed. He did not long enjoy his honours for he embezzled 40,000 ass-loads of shawls belonging to government, and was in consequence put in prison and 'Alí Kúka received his post.

In 976 A. H. Qází Habíb, of the Hanífí sect, on a Friday, leaving the Juma Masjid, came to the zíárat in the graveyard of Yáíkoh Márán. There, a man of the Shíá religion attacked him with a sword and wounded him in the head. Again he struck him and the Qází raising his hand to protect his head had his fingers cut off. Except difference in religion these two had nothing else between them. Malána Kamál, son-in-law of the Qází, was also with him engaged in reading. Yúsuf after wounding the Qází fled and Husain Sháh, who was himself a Shíá, when he heard of the affair ordered Yúsuf to be imprisoned and brought before him. A company of lawyers such as Mulla Yúsuf, Mulla Fíroz and the like were assembled, and the king asked them to decide accord-

ing to the law in the matter. They said that the killing of such a person by way of punishment was allowable. The Qází said, "I am alive. The killing of such a person is not allowable." At last, however, they stoned Yúsuf. By accident at that time there came to Kashmír some co-religionists of Yúsuf,—Mírzá Muqím, and Mír Yaqúb son of Bábá 'Alí as ambassadors from the court of the Emperor Jalál-ud-Dín Muhammad Akbar. Whey they arrived at Hírapúr Husain Sháh Chakk erected his tents. When he heard that they were near he left his tent and went out to meet them, and then bringing them in took his seat by their side. After this the ambassadors went by boat, accompanied by Husain's son to Kashmír while Husain returned on horseback. The house of Husain Mákári was appointed for them. After a few days Mírzá Muqím who was a co-religionist of Yúsuf said that as the Qázís have killed Yúsuf, you had better send them to me. They were accordingly sent. Qází Zain, who was of the same religion as Yúsuf, said, that the lawyers had made a mistake in their sentence. The lawyers replied we did not give the sentence of death absolutely, we said that to execute such a person was allowable by way of punishment. Mírzá Muqím treated their answer with contempt and gave the lawyers into the hands of Fath Khán Chakk, who tortured them. Husain Sháh went by boat to Kamráj. Fath Khán Chakk acting on the orders of Mírzá Muqím executed the lawyers, and tying ropes to their heels he ordered their bodies to be dragged up and down the streets and lanes of the city.

Husain Sháh sent his own daughter as a gift by the hands of the ambassadors to Jalál-ud-Dín Muhammad Akbar, and in that way showed his acknowledgment of Akbar's supremacy.

In the year 977 A. H. news arrived in Kashmír that Akbar had put to death Mírzá Muqím as a recompense for his causing the death of innocent persons in Kashmír. The daughter of Husain Sháh was returned being rejected of Akbar. Husain Sháh, hearing this news was seized with a bloody-flux and lived only three or four months afterwards.

'Alí Sháh.—At that time Muhammad Khán and Bihut Yúsuf son of 'Alí Khán Chakk determined to go to 'Alí Khán Chakk who was in Sonpúr. When Yúsuf went to that place others also gradually fled to 'Alí Khán. Husain Sháh sent messengers to 'Alí Khán to know what he had done "thy son has received no injury I send him to you." 'Alí gave answer that "he had done nothing also. People of themselves have fled to me. Although I advise them to return it is of no use." At last 'Alí took the road to Srínagar and waited about 7 koss from the city. Lodní Lond there joined him having fled frem Husain Sháh, who leaving the city had pitched his tents at a distance from it of about a koss at

Jalahájam. That same night he was deserted by Ahmad and Muhammad Mákári who fled to 'Alí Khán. Then Daulat Chakk who was one of those near to Husain said to him, "Inasmuch as everybody is leaving us, it would be better to send all the royal insignia, about which the quarrel is, to 'Alí Khán Chakk who is your brother and not a stranger." Husain Sháh at once sent the royal umbrella, the yak's tail and all the insignia of royalty to 'Alí Khán, by the hands of Yúsuf, saying, that his only sin was that he was sick. After this 'Alí Khán went to the house of Husain and visited him. Both shed tears. Husain gave up the city into the hands of 'Alí and went to live at Zainpúr, and 'Alí assuming the title of 'Alí Sháh, took upon himself the affairs of the kingdom. After three months Husain died. 'Alí Sháh followed the bier to the grave which was dug near the Hairán Bázár.

In those days a darvesh named Sháh 'Arif arrived in Kashmír from Lahore. He gave out that he was descended from Tahmásp king of Persia. He was a Shíá and was dressed in the garb of a faqír: he was a Súfí also. He had left Husain Qulí Khán Turkmán the governor of the Panjáb. 'Alí Sháh who was a Shíá considering himself honoured by this visit expressed his pleasure and besought the holy man to marry his own daughter. He also called him the Mahdí of the latter days. 'Alí Chakk, Nauroz Chakk and Ibráhím Chakk son of Ghází Sháh were all so pleased with him that they not only believed on him but actually worshipped him and at last, considering him worthy, determined to make him their king. 'Alí Sháh getting to hear of this was very vexed and proceeded to severe measures. Sháh 'Arif who was famous for his knowledge of alchemy and his power over fairies, saw how the wind was blowing and gave out that he would no longer stay in Kashmír but would depart to Lahore or some other country in a day. After this he lived in seclusion, until people thought he had disappeared miraculously, but after three days it came out that he had given two ashrafís to a boatman to take him to Bárámúlla whence he had fled to the mountains. 'Alí Sháh sent after him and arrested him and gave him over to keepers. When he fled a second time he was again brought from the Sulaimán mountains. This time 'Alí Sháh took from him his daughter and her dowry of 1,000 ashrafís, and had his daughter divorced from him and caused Khwájah Sará also to leave him and put a watch over him, and at last permitted him to depart to Tibet. 'Alí Rái ruler of Tibet who had an affection for the family of the foolish fellow ran to meet him, and regarded his coming as a great boon and left no rite of hospitality unperformed. He wished him to make the country his own, and begged him to accept his beloved and noble daughter as his wife. He stayed there some time and then at the invitation of Akbar, he took his departure to

India. He arrived in Agra but died shortly afterwards. (It would be interesting to know what the *ashrafis* which are mentioned in this story, were. The only gold coin I have seen of the Sultáns of Kashmír is one of Yúsuf. General Cunningham has two gold coins of Máhárája *Harsha*.)

In 979 A. H. 'Alí Chakk, son of Nauroz Chakk, came to 'Alí Sháh and complained that Dúkah had been trespassing on his estates and interrupting his business. "If you do not stop him" said he "I shall rip open the belly of my own horse." 'Alí Sháh understood this to mean a threat against himself. For this reason he grew angry and ordered him to be arrested and taken to Kamráj. He escaped from this place, however, and fled to Husain Qulí Khán, governor of the Panjáb, who did not treat him with conventional hospitality, so he left Lahore and returned to Kashmír where he was arrested by 'Alí Sháh and imprisoned. He again after some time escaped and went to Naushahra where 'Alí Sháh sent an army against him which took him prisoner and hurried him away.

In 980 A. H. 'Alí Sháh invaded Khatwár and taking the daughter of the ruler of that place, he returned. At this time Mulla Ishqí and Qází Sadr-ud-Dín came from Akbar on a mission to 'Alí Sháh. 'Alí sent his niece as a wife for the prince Salím, and along with her he sent a quantity of presents. *He also read the khutba and struck coins in the name of that sovereign, i. e., of Akbar.* At this time also Yúsuf the son of 'Alí Sháh on the information of Muhammad Bihut, put to death Ibráhím Khán son of Ghází Khán, without the agreement of his father 'Alí Sháh. Yúsuf together with his informer fled to Bárámúlla. 'Alí Sháh tried to heal the wound. People asked that the sin of Yúsuf might be forgiven, but demanded that Muhammad Bihut, who was the cause of the trouble, should be imprisoned which was accordingly done.

In 982 A. H. 'Alí Sháh invaded Khatwár, which is also called Kishtwár. Taking the daughter of the governor of that place for a wife to his grandchild Yaqúb he made peace and returned to the city.

In 983 A. H. 'Alí Sháh together with his family and court visited Jamálnaggarí. Haidar Khán, son of Muhammad Sháh, of the family of Zain-ul-Ábidín who was in Gujrát when that country was taken by Akbar, and who returned to India along with the Conqueror, now came to Naushahra. His cousin Salím Khán who was in the neighbourhood joined him with a large party. 'Alí Sháh sent a large army under Lauhar Chakk against them. Muhammad Khán Chakk, who was then governing Rájáorí being envious at the appointment of Lauhar Chakk imprisoned him and taking his army went over to Haidar Khán in Naushahra and offered to conquer Kashmír for him if he could send along with him that brave man Islám Khán. Haidar elated with the

prospect, allowed Islám to accompany him. When they arrived at the town of Jakún, Muhammad Khán, leaving Islám Khán with an excuse, went straight to 'Alí Sháh and was received with favour. 'Alí Mákári, Dáúd Guzár and others who had sided with Haidar Khán were put in prison.

In 984 A. H. there was a severe famine in Kashmîr and many people died of starvation.

In 985 A. H. 'Alí Sháh went out on the top of the mosque and sought the companionship of learned and pious men. And according to the traditions of the Hadíth on the benefits of repentance, he repented and bathed. He spent his time in prayers and in reading the Qurán. In his hours of leisure he would mount his horse and engage in polo on the plain. One day as he was on the plain of the ídgáh playing at this game, the pommel of his saddle entered his stomach and he was killed. (For coins of 'Alí Sháh, see Nos. 23, 24, 25, pl. II. One is undoubtedly 987 A. H., and yet the history makes him die in 985. I have one coin of Husain Sháh with date 986 A. H. This is of course quite wrong. For all this I think the coins of 'Alí Sháh are right and the histories wrong. No. 27, pl. II is of Akbar's and is dated 987 A. H. just the same as No. 26 of 'Alí Sháh. This No. 27 I take to be one of the coins struck by 'Alí Sháh in honour of Akbar. There is No. 38, pl. III of the same date 987, and also No. 26, pl. II of Yúsuf Sháh, of the same. We shall have to assign No. 38 to some one.)

Yúsuf Sháh.—When 'Alí Sháh died his brother Abdál Khán Chakk, from fear of his nephew Yúsuf was not present at the mourning, so Yúsuf sent Sayyid Mubáriz Khán and Bábá Khalíl to him with the message that "If you accept me as king, well and good, if not, you had better be king yourself and I will be obedient to you." When they had delivered their message, he said to them, "I am coming and am binding on my girdle, but if any harm happen to me or any hair of mine be injured, the burden be on your own necks." Mubáriz Khán who had evil intentions towards him said, that he would go to Yúsuf Sháh and obtain from him his solemn oath and covenant about this, and with this promise they parted. Mubáriz went to Yúsuf Sháh and told him that Abdál Khán would not come at his invitation, "so it is necessary first of all to cure him and after that to bury 'Alí Sháh." Yúsuf Sháh mounted his horse and went to Abdál, who, opposing him in like manner was slain. Jalál Khán son of Mubáriz Khán was slain in the same encounter. The next day 'Alí Sháh was buried according to the manner of the Shíás and Yúsuf Sháh became ruler in his stead.

After two months Mubáriz Khán aided by 'Alí Khán Chakk crossed the river with the intention of rebellion. Muhammad Mákári, who was

leading the van of Yúsuf's army, together with 60 persons was slain. Yúsuf asking for quarter fled to Hírapúr. Mubáriz hearing this news arranged his army and prepared for war. Yúsuf finding himself unequal to the contest fled to the town of Parthál in the jungle. Mubáriz Khán pursued him, and the two parties coming together, Yúsuf took refuge in the mountains, while Mubáriz returned victorious to Kashmír. He imprisoned 'Alí Khán Chakk son of Nauroz Chakk whom he had summoned to his presence to be near him. Other members of the Chakk faction such as Lauhar Chakk, Haidar Chakk and Hastí Chakk from terror did not come to Mubáriz at first, but after awhile they all came, when Bábá Khalíl and Sayyid Barkhurdár had covenanted with them that no harm should happen to them. After this each of them retired to his own home. On their way they made a covenant that they would recall Yúsuf Sháh and make him their king. At once therefore they sent messengers to Yúsuf, saying, that they acknowledged him as king, and were ashamed of their own pusilanimous conduct. Mubáriz began to tremble and promised to go at once with his sons and slaves to Yúsuf Sháh, and with this intention went out of the city accompanied by 'Alí Khán Chakk son of Nauroz Chakk whom he had kept in prison. Daulat Chakk, who was one of his nobles because he had fled before him, was troubled, freeing 'Alí Khán Chakk, he went to the monastery of Bábá Khalíl alone. Haidar Chakk sent a message to 'Alí Khán Chakk telling him that all this exertion and endeavour was to free him. Yúsuf Chakk son of 'Alí Khán said to his father: "Haidar Chakk is explaining his conduct." 'Alí Khán did not heed this, but joined himself to Haidar Chakk and went with him. Lauhar Chakk* and the like of him were gathered together in one place. When they saw 'Alí Khán they took him and put him in prison. After that they all agreed to elevate Lauhar Chakk to the throne. Meanwhile Yúsuf Sháh having arrived at Kálpúr heard that the Kashmíris had made Lauhar Chakk king. (I propose identifying coin No. 38, pl. III as one of Lauhar Chakk's.) The name on it is neither Lauhar nor Gauhar, but some name ending in ع and ud-Dín. Perhaps the name is بذوق الدين Budúa-ud-Dín [the oustripper of others in religion] it is a new name to Kashmír history no matter what it is. (Of course it is the name or title Lauhar Chakk assumed on ascending the throne.) Going from Lálpúr Yúsuf Sháh went to Záhil and taking all his men with him proceeded by way of Jummú to Sayyid Yúsuf Khán Shahídí who was a great noble of the Emperor Jalál-ud-Dín Muhammad Akbar, to ask for help. This noble resided in Lahore. By the assistance of Rája Mán Singh, Yúsuf arrived in Fathpúr Sikrí and had an interview with the Emperor Akbar who had long desired to take Kashmír,

* Written also in MSS. Gauhar.

and being glad of this opportunity sent Rája Mán Singh and Sayyid Yúsuf Khán Shahídí to Kashmír, and they started from Fathpúr Sikrí in company with Yúsuf Sháh in 987. (This is the date on the coin I read Budúa-ud-Dín or Lauhar Chakk. The next sentence settles the matter I think.) But at this time the kingship of Kashmír was in the hands of Lauhar Chakk. Yúsuf Sháh sent his son Yaqúb before him to wean the people from their own ideas and to sow seeds of dissension in the council of Lauhar Chakk. When Yúsuf arrived in Síálkot he went to Rájáorí and took it and thence to Thatta. At the time Lauhar Chakk sent against him Yúsuf Kashmírí, but the Kashmírí at once joined himself to the king. Yúsuf Sháh being thus helped went by double marches along the most difficult road of Jhúpul to the fort of Sonpúr. Lauhar Chakk along with Haidar Chakk, Shams Chakk and Hastí Chakk marched along the banks of the Jhelum and after a few days a hard battle being fought, victory declared in favour of Yúsuf who then turned his face towards Srínagar. Lauhar Chakk by the intervention of Qází Músá and Muhammad Saádat Bihut, had an interview with Yúsuf Sháh which resulted in his own imprisonment. From amongst the Kashmírís also a goodly number were imprisoned. When Yúsuf Sháh had satisfied himself about the kingship, dividing Kashmír into parts he gave jágírs to Shams Chakk son of Daulat Chakk and to his own son Yaqúb and to Yúsuf Kashmírí, and the rest of the land he let out to tenants in chief. After this, acting on the information of certain people, he put out the eyes of Lauhar Chakk.

In 988 A. H. suspicion having fallen on 'Alí Sher Chakk and Muhammad Saádat Bihut and Shams Chakk they were put in prison. Habíb Khán Chakk fled from fear to the town of Khú and Yúsuf, son of 'Alí Khán Chakk who had been imprisoned by Yúsuf Sháh joined Habíb with his four brothers in that place. Thence, going to Tibet, they obtained help from the Rájah and returned, but arriving on the frontiers of Kashmír they quarrelled amongst themselves and did nothing except separate. The soldiery, however, got hold of Yúsuf and Muhammad Khán and cut off their ears and noses. Habíb Khán hid himself in the city.

In 989 A. H. when Jalál-ud-Dín Akbar was returning from Kábúl and had encamped at Jalálábád, Mírzá Táhir a relative of Mírzá Sayyid Khán Shahídí and Muhammad Sálih Aqil were sent to Kashmir as ambassadors. When they arrived at Bárápúla, Yúsuf Sháh ran to meet them, and kissing the orders (of Akbar) and putting them on his head, made obeisance and brought the ambassadors into the city. He then sent his son Haidar Khán and Shaikh Yaqúb Kashmírí with many presents to Akbar with whom they stayed for about a year and then returned.

In this same* year Yúsuf Sháh went to Lár. Shams Chakk fled with his chains out of prison and went to Khatwár and joined Haidar Chakk who was at that place. When Yúsuf got to know of this he went after them with an army. They, disagreeing amongst themselves, fled and Yúsuf Sháh returned victorious to Srínagar.

In the year 990* Shams Chakk and Haidar Chakk came from Khatwár to Kashmír with the intention of waging war with Yúsuf Sháh. But Yúsuf met them and appointing his son Yaqúb to lead the van, victory resulted in his favour and he returned victorious. At the intervention of the Rái of Khatwár, Yúsuf forgave Shams Chakk and presented him with a jágír. Haidar Chakk leaving Khatwár went to Rájah Mán Singh.

In the year 992, Yaqúb the son of Yúsuf Sháh was honoured by a reception at the court of Akbar to whom he had gone to give in his submission and homage. When his Majesty arrived in Lahore from Fath-púr Sikrí Yaqúb wrote to his father Yúsuf Sháh that the Emperor was intending to visit Kashmír. Yúsuf said he would meet him. But just at this time he heard that Hakím 'Ali Gílání had arrived at Thatta on an embassy from Akbar. Yúsuf Sháh at once proceeded to Thatta and put on the robes Akbar had sent as a present. He desired to resort at once to the imperial presence but Bábá Khalíl, Bábá Mahdí and Shams Dadlí agreeing together told him that if he went he would be slain, and his son Yaqúb would transport himself rapidly to Kashmír and get made king. Hearing this, Yúsuf delayed accompanying them, so they returned alone to his Majesty. But when Akbar, who was in earnest about the conquest of Kashmír heard of this device he at once appointed Sháh Rukh Mírzá and Sháh Qulí Khán and Bhagwán Dáss to the invasion of Kashmír. Yúsuf Sháh encamped at Bárámúlla. When the news arrived that the invading army had arrived at Haulbás on the frontiers of Kashmír, he stopped up the way. As it was winter and the time for ice and the road was shut up, offers of peace were made. Yúsuf Sháh putting his son Yaqúb on the throne went himself to Rájah Bhagwán Dáss to negotiate. Agreeing to pay annual tribute he made peace. The nobles of Akbar, however, seized him and carried him into the presence of his Majesty. The Emperor was not pleased with the treaty. And in 995 he sent Muhammad Qásim Mírbahr and other nobles. Yaqúb Sháh who was on the throne of Kashmír opposed their coming. The chiefs of Kashmír who were rebellious and who had not given in their submission to Yaqúb, deserted him at this crisis and went over to Muhammad Qásim. Some, however, raised the standard of rebellion in the city. When Yaqúb found that his party was disturbed by interne-

* Probably this is 990 A. H. and 990 in the next paragraph should be 991.

cine quarrels he left the city, and when the army of Akbar entered it he fled to the mountains. Muhammad Qásim having obtained possession of Srínagar extended his power over the provinces. Yaqúb Sháh collecting again an army opposed him. After many Mughals had been slain, Yaqúb was defeated, but after a short time he collected an army with the intention of taking Srínagar. This time Muhammad Qásim not having power to oppose him fled to the fort of Irak and wrote a petition to Akbar asking for aid. The Emperor making Yúsuf Khán Sháhídí governor of Kashmír recalled Muhammad Qásim. When Yúsuf arrived in Kashmír Yaqúb Sháh raised the siege and fled to the mountains. Yúsuf there pursued him for two years. At length he was taken and being encouraged with hopes of the royal mercy he was sent to the Emperor. He was forgiven and the father and son, *i. e.*, Yúsuf Sháh and Yaqúb Sháh becoming nobles of Akbar's court obtained jágírs in the province of Behár. From this time the history of Kashmír is merged in that of the Emperors of Dehlí and the province remained in their power. Before this for a thousand years Kashmír had never been conquered by any one of the kings of India. (Coins No. 26, pl. II, and No. 34, pl. III, are of Yúsuf Sháh. Nos. 35 and 37 are of Yaqúb Sháh. These latter coins are dated 992 A. H. which agrees with the above account. Coins 27, 28, 29, 30 are of Akbar before he had conquered the province. Coins 40, 41, 42 are Akbar's after the conquest of the country. The two latter ones are full rupees. No. 40 is a dám. Srínagar continued to be a mint town of the Mughal Emperors as well as of the Abdállí and Sikh conquerors.)

The Kings of the Saffáriún Dynasty of Nímroz or Sijistán.—
By MAJOR H. G. RAVERTY.

I have read with some surprise a paper in the Proceedings for April last, p. 75, by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, on some coins from Kandahár, wherein he says:—

“In mixed metal there was a great quantity of the coins of a king but little known to history, *Táj-ud-Dín Muhammad Hardufí* or *Harúfí* or *Khardufí*, several of one equally little known, *Harb*, and one coin of *Táj-ud-Dín Nasr bin Bahrám Sháh* ;” and, that, as some of the coins acquired at the same time bore the names of the “mints Nímroz and Herát, I had no hesitation, as the coins came from Kandahár, in assigning them to kings who at some time or other ruled in South and Western Affghanistan.”

This is rather an unsafe theory to go upon, as the result shows. He also regards “the present find as one of some importance especially

as the coins reveal altogether a new mint, that of Nímróz.” Mr. Rodgers then gives the names of eight kings, which a friend brought to his notice from a work entitled “Táríkh-i-Jadwalia.” The names are as follows:—

- (1.) Táj-ud-Dín Abul Fazl, son of Táhir.
- (2.) Shams-ud-Dín Muhammad.
- (3.) Taj-ud-Dín Harb, son of Azzul Mulk
- (4.) Bahrám Sháh, Yamín-ud-Dín.
- (5.) Nusrat-ud-Dín (6.) Rukn-ud-Dín.
- (7.) Shaháb-ud-Dín Muhammad, son of Táj-ud-Dín Harb.
- (8.) Táj-ud-Dín.”

He adds that he was unable to say anything of the last three until this mention of them was brought to his notice by his friend; then that Minháj-i-Siráj “who uses very strong language indeed about the Mughals,” wrote a Tabqa on the Princes of Nímróz. But unfortunately “this Tabqa is not in the abridgement published by the Society to which alone I have access. As the Editor, Major Nassau Lees, says there are but two manuscripts of the works, I am afraid I shall stand but little chance of extending my knowledge.” If Mr. Rodgers will refer to the “Tabakát-i-Násirí” of Minháj-ud-Dín-i-Siráj, the whole of which and not “an abridgement,” has been translated some years since, he will find that the kings referred to by him are well-known to history, though their names are not all correctly given in the above list. In my “Translation,” pp. 183 to 202, will be found not only the *tabakah* containing the account of the *ten* last kings or rulers of Nímróz or Sijistán,* but also of the preceding eight, and other information respecting this *Saffáriún Dynasty* at pp. 19 to 25, and in several other places. I will here, however, give their names, years of their reigns, and the relationship between them, as the information may be of use to others.

Lais, the head of the Sáffár or workers in brass of Sijistán had four sons, Yákúb, 'Amrú, 'Alí, and Mu'addil. The first of them who rose to power was—

1. Yákúb, who reigned from 251 H. to 265 H.
2. 'AMRÚ, his brother, from 265 H. to 287 H.

* Sijistán is the Arabic mode of writing Sigistán, which is the Tájzík, or native mode, of writing the name. Sistán is used occasionally with reference to the country, and the “city of Sistán” with reference to its capital, but that does not mean that there was any city so called; for Zarang was “the chief city and capital of Sigistán.”

3. TÁHIR, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Amrú, from 287 H. to 293 H.
4. LAIS, son of 'Alí, brother of Nos. 1 and 2, from 293 H. to 298 H., some say to 299 H.
5. MU'ADDIL, brother of the preceding, from 298 H. to 300 H.
6. 'AMRÚ, son of Ya'kúb, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Amrú, No. 2, from 300 H. up to the time he had to surrender his territory to the Sámánís.
7. AHMAD, by some said to have been the grandson of Táhir, No. 3, but others, that he was the son of Muḥammad, son of Khalaf, son of Abú Jáfar, son of Lais, apparently No. 4, from 309 H. to about 331 H.
8. KHALAF, son of Ahmād, from about 331 H. to 398 H., who was dethroned by Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghaznín in that year; and for a long time Sijistán formed a portion of the Ghaznawí empire. At length, with the support of the Sultáns, Alb-Arsalán, and Malik Sháh, between the years 465 H. and 470 H., or thereabouts; for there is no record of the exact date,
9. TÁHIR, son of Muḥammad, son of Táhir, son of Khalaf (No. 8), obtained the government of his native country, and ruled to 480 H.
10. MALIK TÁJ-UD-DÍN, ABÚ-L-FATH, son of Táhir, according to some (but Abú-l-Fazl-i Naṣr, son of Táhir, according to others), who was subject to Sultán Sanjar succeeded, and ruled to 559 H., having reigned just eighty years, and was above a hundred when he died.
11. MALIK-US-SÁÍS (THE TORTURER OR CRUEL), SHAMS-UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD, son of Táj-ud-Dín, from 559 H. The length of his reign is uncertain, but is said to have extended over a considerable time; and, at length he was put to death through his tyranny.
12. MALIK-US-SA'ÍD, TÁJ-UD-DÍN-I-HARAB, son of Muḥammad, who, by some, is styled Táj-ud-Dín, Ḥasan, son of 'Izz-ul-Mulúk and Táj-ud-Dín-i-Ḥarab, son of 'Izz-ul-Mulk, by others, who must have been the brother of No. 11, as No. 12 is called his nephew. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty in 612 H., after a reign of sixty (fifty ?) years. He was the vassal of the Sultán of Ghur.
13. MALIK NÂŠIR-UD-DÍN, 'UŠMÁN-I-HARAB, son of the preceding, but, as he only acted as his father's representative, on account of the latter's great age and total blindness, other chroniclers than Minháj-ud-Dín do not mention him as a separate ruler.
14. MALIK-UL-ĞHÁZÍ, YAMÍN-UD-DAULAH WA UD-DÍN, BAHRÁM SHÁH son of Táj-ud-Dín, brother of the preceding. He was a vassal of the Khwárazm Shah, and the most illustrious of the later rulers of Sijistán. He reigned from 612 H. to 618 H., when he was assassinated by the Muláhidahs of the Kuhistán.
15. MALIK NUŞRAT-UD-DÍN [Muḥammad ?], son of the preceding

ruled from 618 H. for a few months, when his elder brother, Rukn-ud-Dín Mahmúd, who had been kept in confinement by his father for some time, on account of his misconduct and cruel disposition (see p. 198), was set at liberty by the above-mentioned heretics, defeated Nuṣrat-ud-Dín Muḥammad in battle, and assumed the sovereignty over Nímroz or Sijistán.

16. MALÍK RUKN-UD-DÍN MAHMÚD, son of Bahrám Sháh from 618 H. His cruelty and tyranny was such that the people recalled his brother, the Amír, Nuṣrat-ud-Dín Muḥammad; and while the brothers were contending, an army of Mughal infidels, suddenly and unexpectedly reached Sijistán, and appeared before the capital, which was taken, its people butchered, the city desolated, and the country depopulated. This is one of the reasons why the author of the *Ṭabakát-i-Násirí* “uses very strong language indeed” against the Mughals. In the massacre above referred to the two brothers perished. After the Mughals disappeared from the country, a son of Malik Násir-ud-Dín, 'Uṣmán (No. 13), brother of Bahrám Sháh, named Shiháb-ud-Dín Mahmúd, who had been in concealment, came forth, and assumed authority.

17. MALÍK SHIHÁB-UD-DÍN MAHMÚD-I-HARAB. He did not acquire much power; for the country was in a state of desolation, and the people few. The Muláhidah heretics induced Sháh 'Uṣmán, a grandson of Násir-ud-Dín, 'Uṣmán (No. 13), to come from Neh and occupy Sijistán. He asked for aid from the Malik of Kírmán the governor on the part of the Khwárazm Sháh, Burák, the chamberlain, a Kará Khitá-í-Musal-mán, the same who afterwards murdered his sovereign, and sent his head to the Mughals, whose feudatory he became; and he was the founder of the Kará-Khitá-í dynasty of Kírmán. The Khwárazmí forces having arrived from Kírmán and joined 'Uṣmán, Shiháb-ud-Dín Mahmúd was martyred, and his brother, the Amír, 'Alí, the Záhid or Recluse was set up, but his government acquired no stability, and he died. He is not accounted among the rulers of Sijistán or Nímroz; and with these the dynasty of the Saffáriáns terminated.

18. MALÍK TÁJ-UD-DÍN, BINÁL-TIGÍN, THE KHWÁRAZMÍ. He was the commander of the troops sent from Kírmán, and was of the family of Khwárazm Sháh. He took possession of the territory for himself in 622 H., or the following year. In the year 625 H., an army of Mughals again entered the territory of Nímroz, and invested Táj-ud-Dín Binál-Tigín, within the fortress of Úk of Sijistán.* He defended it for nineteen months; but one day, in going round the walls, received an arrow from the Mughals in one of his eyes; and, subsequently, by accident, fell from the battlements to the ground, and was taken prisoner.† The

* See “Translation,” p. 1120.

† *Ibid*, pp. 1125, 1126.

fortress was captured and all within massacred ; and Táj-ud-Dín, Binál Tigín was taken from Sijistán, and put to death by the infidels at the foot of the walls of the fortress of Šafed-Koh :* and thus terminuated the dynasty of the rulers of Nímroz or Sijistán at the close of the year 628 H.

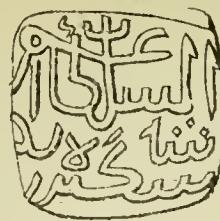
These kings, whose mint was Nímroz or Sijistán, had nothing whatever to do with either Hirát or “West” or “South Affghanistán ;” the Mughals or their vassals held Hirát and its territory, as well as Kábul and Ghaznín, and their dependencies ; there was no place then known as Kandahár, but its territory was known as Bál-yús, or with ‘w,’ that letter and ‘b’ being interchangeable, Wál-yús, “Afghánistán,” then, as now, does not refer to either Hirát, Kábul, Ghaznín, or Kandahár, but to the vast mountain tract surrounded on all sides by the stupendous range of Mihtar Sulaimán or Koh-i-Siyah, and also known under the designation, but in a somewhat extended sense in more recent times, of Roh. There is a great difference between “Afghánistán,” and the Afghán State, to which the name Afghánistán has of late years been loosely applied by Europeans only.

Mr. Rodgers appears surprised at “Mangú Khán” the Mughal, putting “the Khalífah’s name on his coins.” It would be surprising if *he did*, but the Mughals at this period had no coins but the *bálísh*, which will be found explained in the translated text. The way it happened that the Khalífah’s name appeared is, that the subject Musalmán Princes had to insert the Mughal name somewhere, but they left the other side of the coin as they would have done if a Musalmán was their suzerain, and the Mughals had never existed. This is shown from the coins of the rulers of Kirmán, and of the Karlúgh Turks of Ghaznín and Kármán, and others, who, whether they liked it or not, had to submit to fate, and insert the name of an infidel Mughal on one side of their money.

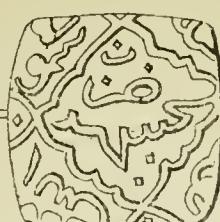
Mangú Ká’án *is said* to have repeated the *kalimah*, but he was no Musalmán ; and was buried according to the prescribed rites of the Mughals, and was interred at the side of Chingiz Khán, and of Túlúe or Túlí, his father.† If he had been a Musalmán, how came it about that he despatched his brother, Hulákú, to destroy and extirpate the ’Abbásís ? and overturn the Khiláfat, which he did, and destroyed every male, as he supposed, of the Khalífah’s race ?

* *Ibid*, pp. 1181, 1197 to 1205.

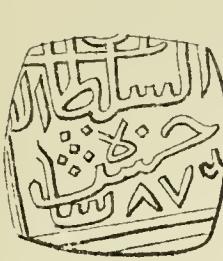
† *Ibid*, p. 1181, and rule 3, p. 1223, and note to p. 1228, para. 4.



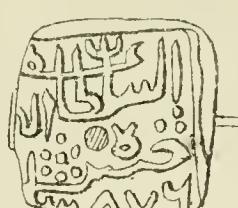
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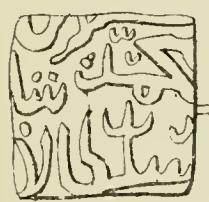
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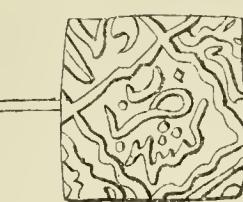
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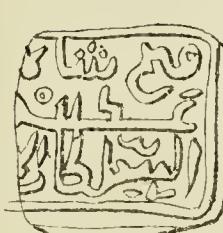
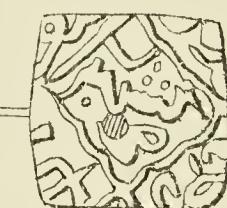
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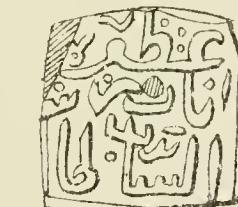
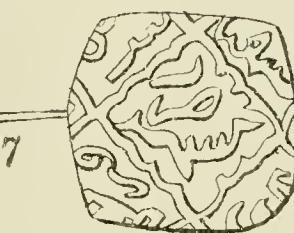
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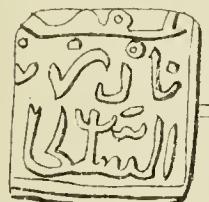
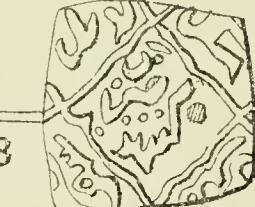
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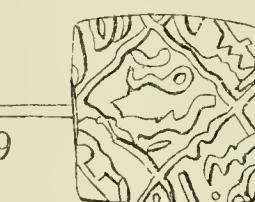
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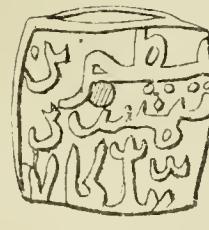
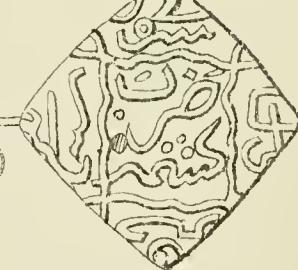
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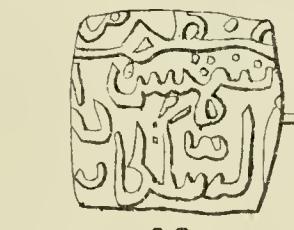
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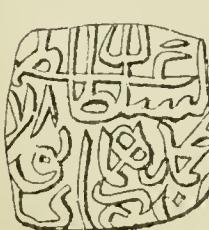
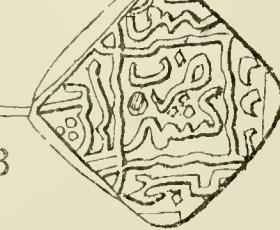
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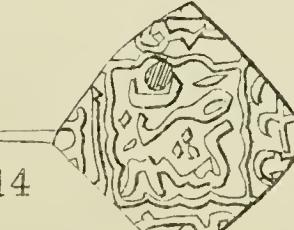
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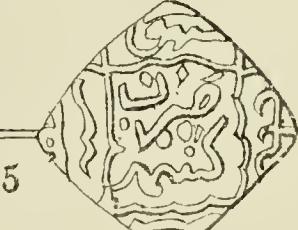
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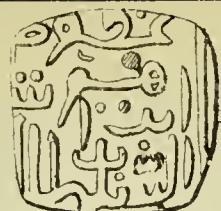


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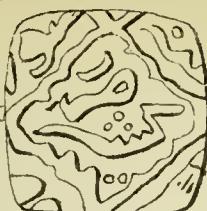


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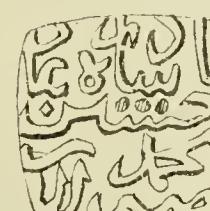
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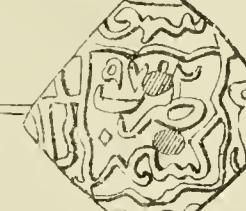
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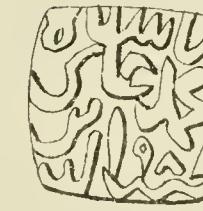
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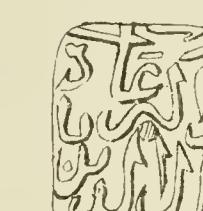
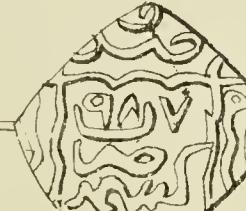
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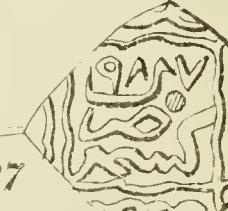
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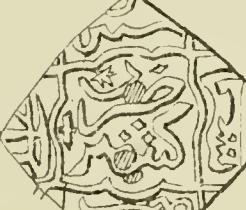
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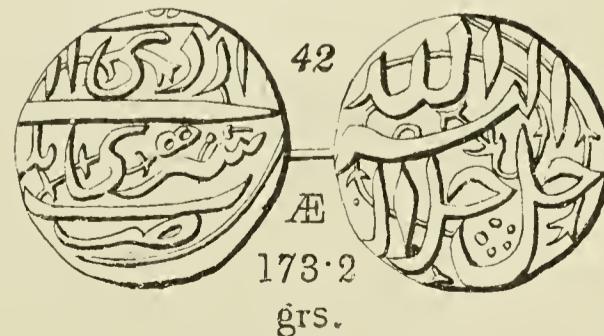
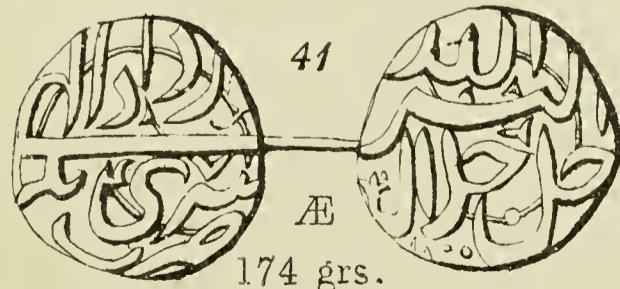
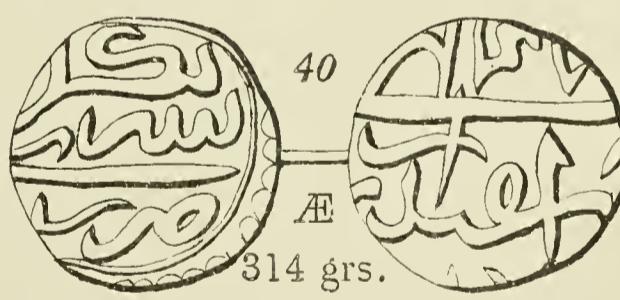
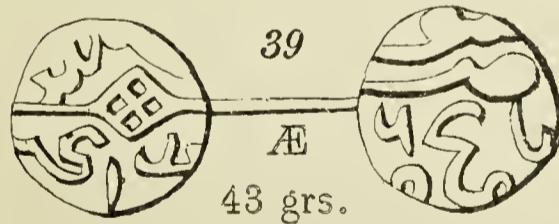
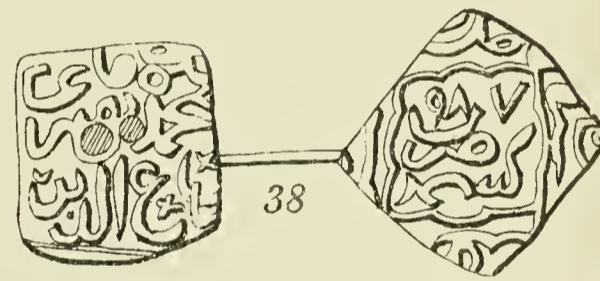
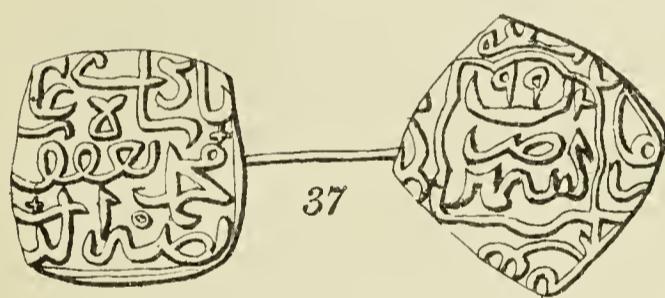
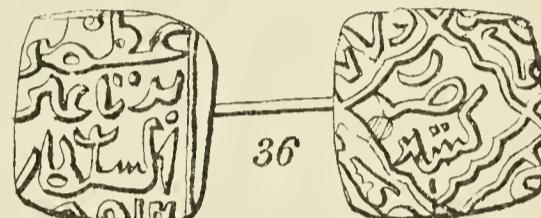
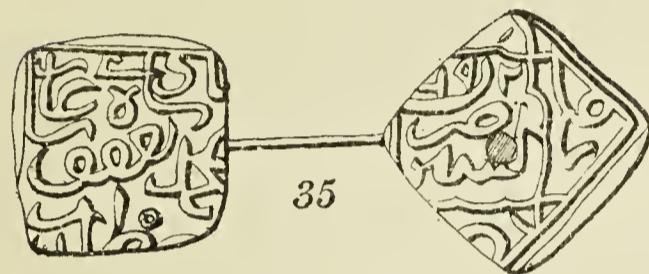
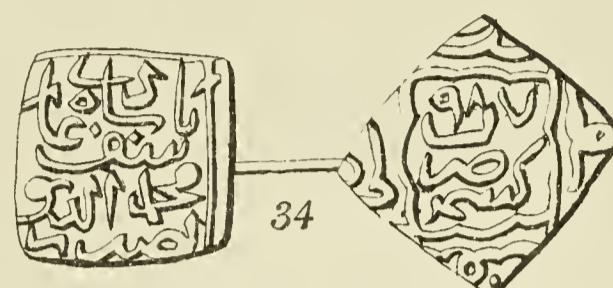
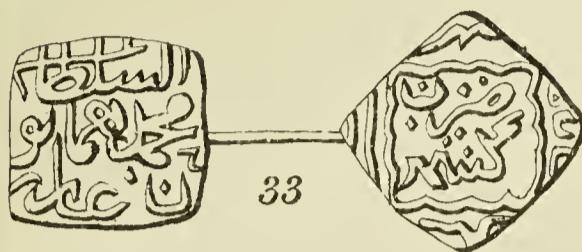
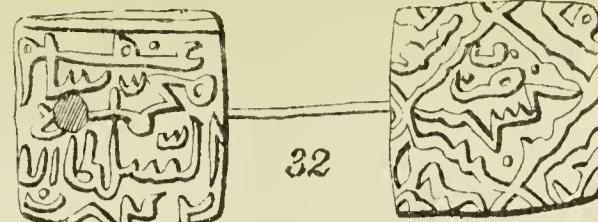
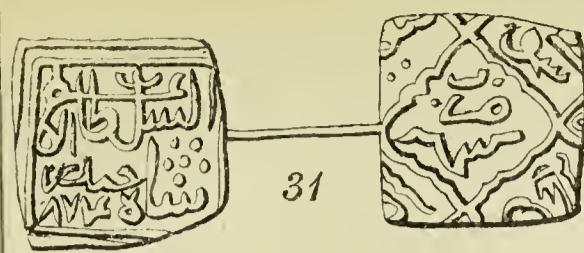
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C. J. Rodgers. del.

SILVER COINS OF THE SULTANS OF KASHMIR.



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Notes on the Fatehpur District. N. W. P.—By F. S. GROWSE, C. I. E.
(With a Plate.)

In order to distinguish it from other places bearing the same name—which is an extremely common one in the N. W. P.—the capital of the Fatehpur District is very frequently designated Fatehpur-Haswa. The latter member of the compound is the name of a small decayed town,* about 7 miles distant, which is now of no importance whatever; but is traditionally represented as the oldest inhabited site in the neighbourhood. Its eponymous founder is said to have been a Rájá Hans-dhvaj, whose two brothers, Mor-dhvaj and Sankh-dhvaj, are also locally commemorated by the names of two adjoining villages, Moráun and San-kháun. The Rájá's second son, Ran-bijay, had the hardihood to capture the horse that had been turned loose by the Pándavs, after their great sacrifice at Hastinapur; and they, taking this as a challenge, at once came down upon him and slew both him and his elder brother, Siva-dharna.† On their death, their sister Champávatí inherited the throne. She is said to have re-named the town after herself, Champaka-purí, and dying childless, to have bequeathed it to Bráhmans, whose descendants held it for many generations.

* Gen. Cunningham *sub verbo* in Vol. XVII of the Archæological Survey gives it a population of about 10,000, which is very much over the mark. The return by the last census was 4,197 only.

† This name is doubtful. It is also given as Sudhanwa, or Surat.

However this may be, and, so far as I am aware, there is no authority in the Mahábhárát for the above legend, the town, when it again reappears in local history, is still styled Haswa and its Rájá bears the cognate name of Hans-ráj. After the defeat of Jay Chand, of Kanauj, and his brother Mánik, near Karra (in the Allahabad district near the Fatehpur border) Kutb-ud-dín with his two sister's sons, Kásim and 'Alá-ud-dín, is stated to have advanced against Haswa. Hansráj came out to meet them, and joining in single combat with 'Alá-ud-dín at a village called Chakheri, there lost his life. 'Alá-ud-dín also lost his head, but the headless trunk fought its way on to Haswa, a distance of 12 miles. His *dargáh*, on the top of the old Fort in the centre of the town, is still held in much veneration, and is said to mark the spot where at last he fell and was buried.

At the present day the town of Haswa is almost entirely surrounded by a broad shallow sheet of water. This has been deepened at one end and brought into more regular shape as a tank, in the centre of which is an island, measuring 165 feet square and faced on all four sides with flights of masonry steps. It is approached from the town by a bridge 150 feet long, consisting of 15 arches, of which 7 are open and 8 closed. Its construction is ascribed to a Kázi Yákúb, who, it is said, was afterwards put to death by the Emperor Akbar, and that the circumstances are related in the *Zuhúr-i-kutbí*. This is a book with which I have no acquaintance ; but I find it recorded by Badáoni that Kázi Yákúb was suspended by the Emperor, his offence being that he had maintained it was illegal for a Muhammadan to marry more than four wives, as Akbar had done.

In the century immediately preceding the Muhammadan conquest, the Fatehpur District would seem to have been exceptionally rich in temples of the same style as those that still commemorate the power of the Chandel dynasty in Bundelkhand, across the Jamuná, at their ancient capitals of Mahoba and Khajuráo. But, on this side of the river, those that were built of what is generally supposed to be the more durable material, stone, have all been destroyed, and nothing of them now remains *in situ* beyond their foundations. The sculptured superstructure has been razed to the ground, and the fragments either buried on the spot or dispersed in the neighbouring villages, where they may be seen lying about in the lanes, or built up into the walls of the houses and modern temples.

The only two specimens of the style still left standing are both of brick ; one at Tinduli, near the busy market-town of Bindki, on the road to the Mauhár Railway Station ; which is shown in the accompanying

photograph (Plate VI); the other at Bahua, a few miles from the Chilla Tára Ghát across the Jamuná, on the road from Fatehpur to Bánáda.*

The wonder that both these temples should have survived the rough treatment of so many centuries is increased by the fact that they have been simply set flat upon the plain without any foundations, and that no mortar has been used in any part of the construction, but only clay. The bricks, however, are not only of excellent quality, but are so clean cut and so well joined, that—but for actual violence—it is probable that the building would have stood uninjured to the present day. The moulded devices that form the surface decoration of the tower are of a simple and perfectly inoffensive character; but the porch, which was of stone, was covered with figure sculptures. This would seem to have provoked the wrath of some Muhammadan iconoclast; and, in a style of construction where the mutual interdependence of all the parts is so close, its destruction involved much damage to the remainder of the fabric.

About 100 years ago, the Tinduli temple was patched up by a Bráhman from the next village, who added the present porch and also restored with plain unmoulded bricks a considerable portion of the tower. Some of this new work has again given way; the plinth was also much broken, and unless the progress of decay had been quickly arrested, in the course of another year or two the whole building would have become a complete wreck. A small grant has therefore been made me by the Local Government, and out of this I have had the terrace re-made and on the east side strengthened with a masonry wall, in the centre of which I have introduced a recessed flight of 9 steps leading up to the level of the temple floor. The whole of the plinth also has been carefully restored all round up to the height where the ornamental work begins. This, it is hoped, will so secure the building as to prevent any further fall of the superstructure. The two or three fragments that remain of the sculptured doorway have been let into the front of the modern porch; which, if not ornamental, is at least useful as a buttress. As a necessary precaution against the future criticism of any anti-restoration fanatic, I have had two photos taken as unimpeachable evidence of the actual condition of the temple before the repairs were commenced. The shrine is at present occupied by a statue of Chatur-bhuj, after whom it is named; and it is possible that this may have been its original dedication. The village is inhabited by a comparatively recent colony of Kachhwáha Thákurs, and there is no local tradition as to the founder.

* Neither of these temples receives the slightest mention in the new Gazetteer of the Fatehpur District.

The building at Bahua is smaller, plainer, and in a much more ruinous condition. It must originally have been dedicated to Mahádeva ; but at present it contains a recumbent statue of Náráyan with Lakshmi at his feet and Brahmá seated on a lotus growing out of his navel. The figure is set upright against the wall, and locally is known only by the name of Kakora Bába, to whom offerings are specially made by young wives, natives of the village, after the birth of their first child. Some 200 years ago, probably at the time when the new patron was installed, the temple which must then have been quite a ruin, was very ignorantly repaired, pieces of the sculptured doorway (which—as at Tinduli—had been thrown down) being built up into the roof and other places to which they did not belong. These I have taken out and joined together on the ground, and it now only remains to set them up in their proper position. This can be done at slight expense, with the help of two iron girders to support the broken architraves, and by building up a flight of masonry steps underneath. The plinth also is being repaired, and the ground raised, levelled and inclosed, to prevent injury from cattle. In both temples the *cella* under the brick *sikhara* is entirely of stone, with a flat cieling, above which the hollow brick shaft closely resembles in appearance the interior of an old-fashioned English chimney.

Other interesting remains of the Hindu period exist at Asothar and Hathgánw. The former town is the seat of a Rájá, who in the absence of any rivals, ranks as a person of some local distinction, though his estate consists of six villages only. All the other resident gentry in the district are Muhammadans, whose ancestors were mostly officials of the Lucknow Court, and who are now reduced to poverty. He belongs to the Khichar clan, which is recognised as a branch of the Chauháns, and had its original home at Khichidára, or Raghú-garh, in Central India. It was from there that one Deogaj Siñh came about the middle of the sixteenth century A. D. and had the good fortune to marry a daughter of the Gautam Rájá of Aijhi, now a small village, a few miles from Asothar. The descendants of this marriage, however, achieved no distinction of any kind, till 150 years later, when a member of the family, by name Aráru Siñh, discovered, as is said, a hidden treasure. Certainly by some means or other he contrived to secure for himself a more prominent position than that of any other Hindu in the neighbourhood : but it lasted only a very brief period.

The Asothar Fort was built by Aráru Siñh and is therefore of no antiquity ; the town is many centuries older. Its original site is indicated by an extensive brick-strewn mound, two or three fur-longs to the south of the Fort. On the highest part of it is a

small enclosure of recent construction, which bears the name of the eponymous hero, Asvattháma, the son of Drona, though it would seem rather to have been the site of an old temple of Mahádeva. Part of the stone sikhara has been set up as a lingam ; the gurgoyled water-spout makes a trough for a well ; and many other sculptured fragments are either lying about, or have been built up into walls ; all being apparently of the 9th or 10th century. On a small mound further to the south are five large figure-sculptures. All are nude ; one is standing, the others are seated, cross-legged, with the usual accessories of lions, elephants and devotees. The hair of the head is in short close curls, as in statues of Buddha ; but the nudity is more a Jaini characteristic. The people call them the five Pándus, which is the popular name in all parts of India for any five sculptures of doubtful significance.

At Hathgánw the centre of the town is occupied by a considerable mound, the site of an old fort. Here stands a ruinous mosque, constructed from the wreck of two or more Hindu temples, like the better-known Assi Khamba at Mahában in the Mathurá district and the so-called Par-mál's Palace at Mahoba. It is popularly known as the Háthi-Khána, or elephant stable, with reference to the legendary animal from whom the town is supposed to derive its name. This had been given by Rájá Jay Chand of Kanauj to a local saint, called Parásur Rishi, with a promise of a grant of all the land that the elephant walked over without stopping to rest. To prevent any future dispute as to the exact limit of its walk, it no sooner lay down than it was there and then turned into stone, and a fragment of the image still remains about two miles from the town, where an annual fair is held in its honour. The ruins consist of 23 pillars still standing, arranged in four aisles of 6 columns each, with a masonry wall at the back and sides. Apparently there was a fifth aisle, but if so, the whole of it has disappeared. The temple-doorway, a handsome piece of sculpture, has been set up by itself as the entrance to the mosque enclosure. The date of the columns is not later than the 10th century ; their present arrangement was probably carried out by the Sultán of Jaunpur in the 15th or 16th century.

In the District Gazetteer, published by the Local Government in 1884, these interesting relics are briefly and incorrectly noticed as follows : “There was a fort in the time of Rájá Jay Chand, but only the foundations of it remain.” At Khakhreru, which since 1852 has been the head-quarters of a Tahsili, the same authority notes with similar inaccuracy, “there was a fort here, of which only the ruins now remain.” A small mound by the side of the main road to Khága is, it is true, locally called the Garhi, or Fort, but it is clearly only the site of a

temple. This was thrown down by the Muhammadans, who used the materials to construct a grave-yard and mosque. In 1852 it may be presumed that these later buildings had apparently fallen into ruin and the bricks were then used, for a third time, in the construction of the new Tahsíli. All the carved stones, however, were left on the spot. These consist chiefly of architraves and door-jambs, handsomely carved in the style of the 10th century. A fair is held here at the end of Bhádon.

At Khairai, 5 miles from Khágá on the road to Dháta, is a circular mound adjoining the village, which also must have been the site of a temple. Only the foundations remain *in situ*, together with traces of a broad flight of steps leading up from the level of the plain below. Several huge broken blocks of sandstone are lying about, possibly the fragments of a colossal lingam ; and, in the village, let into the wall of a small modern shrine and in other places, are some mutilated figures and architectural details. In an extensive mound a little to the east, called the Garhi, I dug up three spirelets of a *sikhara*, each $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, covered with the ornamentation characteristic of the 10th century A. D. From the time of Alá-ud-dín this village has been almost exclusively inhabited by Muhammadans.

The Gazetteer, as will have been observed, has adopted the native practice of styling any ruin a *Garhi*, or Fort, but it entirely omits to mention the remains of what would seem to have been the most considerable of all the old Hindu forts in the district. This is at the village of Paina, about a mile north of the Gházipur Tahsíl. The circuit of the wall with its gates and towers can be distinctly traced, and in the centre of the high broken ground which it encloses, is an inner citadel, further protected by a broad and deep moat. This fortified town is said to have been originally a stronghold of the Chandels, and may very probably be of still higher antiquity, but nothing is known of its history. The citadel was built, or rebuilt, by Aráru Siñh of Asothar, who probably gave it the name of Fatehgarh, by which it is now known.

Specimens of late Muhammadan architecture may be seen at the town of Khajuha, between four and five miles from the Tinduli temple. They form part of an extensive series of buildings erected by the Emperor Aurangzeb, to commemorate a victory over his brother Shuja in a battle that was fought in the neighbourhood in the year 1659. He took up as much as 223 acres of ground for his new works, which comprise a large walled garden, called the Bádsháhi Bág ; a masonry tank, with an area of 14 acres ; and a fort-like saráé, with two lofty gates. There is now, except during the rainy season, very little

water in the tank ; for large portions of the wall that enclosed it have fallen, and so much earth has been washed in through the breaches, that the bottom of the basin is little below the level of the adjoining fields and is mostly under cultivation. The garden has a lofty main entrance in the same style as the sarae gates, and an elegant smaller portal, which once opened on to the street, but is now blocked by a Post Office on the 'standard plan,' which has lately been built immediately in front of it. The garden walls have domed turrets at the corners ; in other huge towers there are wells, with cool vaulted cells, and above them cisterns to supply water both for a cascade that forms the back ground of a shady alcove and for the fountains that played in three reservoirs of cut stone set in the different terraces. The Great Terrace runs the whole length of the tank and has its centre raised yet another stage, which is approached from the lower grounds through graceful stone arches with broad double flights of steps. Upon this upper stage are placed two Pavilions. One is maintained in repair, having been converted into a road-inspection house, though unfortunately it was not a little spoilt in the process ; the other, it is hoped, will now be cleaned up and henceforth kept in decent order, without any utilitarian alterations or additions. Constructurally it is quite sound.

The Saráe has as many as 130 sets of vaulted rooms, three of which have been thrown into one to serve for a school, the rest are let out for the accommodation of travellers. In the centre of the square, which has an area of 10 acres, there is a domed mosque, and outside the gate are massive ranges of stabling for horses and elephants. The design of these memorial works is on a grand scale of Imperial magnificence, but the execution was probably hasty and there is not much delicacy in any of the details. The total outlay must have amounted to a very large sum.

Another building which dates from the same long reign but from the very end of it and is therefore about half a century later, marks a further decline in architectural skill. This is the tomb of Nawáb Abd-us Samad, who was a person of importance in the Imperial Court, and, enjoyed very extensive grants of land both in the Doáb and in Bundelkhand. At Mutaur near the Jamuná in the Gházipur Tahsíl of the Fatehpur district he built a Fort and a fine tank (which I have not yet seen) but his principal residence appears to have been in the town of Fatehpur itself, which he extended by the addition of a new muhalla, called Abu-nagar, after his eldest son Abu Muhammad. The tomb stands in extensive and well-wooded park-like grounds that were attached to the house and has stone arcades and traceried windows and must have cost a large sum of money. But it is a heavy, ill-designed structure and would seem to

have been hastily finished after the premature death of the founder's eldest son. The stone kiosques which surmount the four corners would have been pleasant places to sit in and look out upon the garden, but there is no possibility of getting up to them, as no staircase has been provided. This oversight may have been the result of haste at the end, but the original design is curiously faulty in making these small cupolas exactly the same height as the large central dome; an arrangement which produces a very flat, cumbrous effect. There are two inscriptions, which read as follows :

الله اکبر

* عینالنسان جان جان عبدالصمد خان درجهان *

* گوئی صیدان فدوت برو ز اندیاع زمان *

* طائر روحش چودل برداشت زین دنیاعی دون *

* بر فراز عرش رفت و کشت فودوس آشیان *

* خامه تقدیر بر لوح ازل کرده رقم *

* کشف ممال هجر تش از غم الهم بر دوستان *

الله اکبر

غفران پناه ابو محمد ولد عبدالصمد خان روشانانی نوزدهم شعبان سنه هجری مطابق سنه ۱۴۸ جلوسی در عهد خلد مکان او رنگ زیب بادشاہ غازی بعمر بست و سه همال ازین جهان گذران بگلگشت جنت مشتافت و تعمید مقرة در سنه ۱۱۴۱ هجری ترتیب یافت *

Translation.

I. The paragon of mankind, the soul of souls, Abd-us-Samad Khán, having vanquished all the men of his time in the field of gallantry,

His soul, like a bird, resolved to sever its connection with this miserable world, and flew away and made heaven its rest.

The date of his departure can be calculated for his friends from the words *gham alam* (grief and sorrow) which the pen of fate inscribed on the tablet of eternity.

The letters in *gham alam* give the date 1111 (Hijri) thus : *gh* = 1000 ; *m* 40 ; *a*, 1 ; *l* 30 ; and *m* again 40 : total 1111.

II. God is great. The asylum of forgiveness, Abu Muhammad, son of Abd-us-Samad Khán, Roshanáni, on the 19 Shabán, in the year 1116 Hijri, corresponding to the 48th year of the reign of the late Emperor Aurangzeb, at the age of 23, departed this life and migrated to heaven. The tomb was finished in the year 1121 Hijri.

The grounds contained a large masonry tank and ornamental pavilions, but these with the house itself were all dismantled only four or five years ago by some credulous persons, who hoped to discover a hidden treasure. Nothing of the kind was found, and the price of the

bricks and other materials, which were sold to a railway contractor, can scarcely have done more than cover the cost of demolition. The Gateway alone is now left standing, a massive brick building, but in the same plain and clumsy style as the tomb.

The principal memorial of the connection of the district with the Lucknow Court, during the latter half of the 18th century, is to be seen at Kora, where is a fine masonry tank constructed in a year of famine by Zain-ul-abu-d-dín the local Governor, under the orders of the Vazír Mír Almás 'Alí Khán. It has a handsome pavilion on its margin and across the road is a large walled garden, in two courts, with a high gateway between them, and at the far end a lofty double-storeyed building, in the grandiose style of the period, of good proportions, but without much delicacy of detail. The piers of the arcades are enormously massive, but there are terrible cracks in the walls, probably arising from an unequal settlement of the foundations, in consequence of the excessive mass of the superstructure. Tank, garden and pavilions were all bestowed in gift upon a Káyáth, Manná Lál *alias* Rám Prasád, who on becoming a Muhammadan, took the name of Haidar Bakhsh and had the title of Nasír-ul-Mulk conferred upon him by Nawáb Asaf-ud-daula. As he died childless, the property passed to the family of his brother, who had remained a Hindu, and is now owned by Ikbál Bahádur, son of Ráo Lál Bahádur, who distinguished himself by his loyalty in the mutiny. He built a temple of Sítá Rám on the margin of the tank; but attached to his private dwelling-house are the mosque and *imámbára* of his relative, the original donee, which he keeps in repair for public use, though they strike a visitor as rather curious appendages to a Hindu establishment.

About the same time as the tank, a long and substantial bridge was built over the Rind, the only one by which that river is crossed, just outside the town of Korá and immediately under the walls of the old Fort. In the Gazetteer it is incorrectly described as "a fine old Mughal bridge:" it is really due to a baniya, named Fatih Chānd. The older Muhammadan bridge, of which the abutments remain, a hundred yards or so higher up the stream, was a very much smaller structure, apparently intended only as a private approach to the Fort.

Zain-ul-abu-d-dín's government is further commemorated by the town of Jafarganj, which he named after his son Jafar 'Alí Khán. Here he settled some artisans whom he brought from Lucknow, and the three grandsons of one of them still carry on what is the most notable art-manufacture in this district. Their business is that of cotton-printers, and the peculiarity of their work is that only the simpler part of the pattern is stamped, while all the finer portions are hand-painted. Bed-covers,

awnings for tents and a variety of small articles for native use are what they have hitherto been in the habit of making ; but they have now made me some curtains, which are very handsome and effective, and would certainly command a large sale in the European market.

In 1801, when this part of the Doáb was included in British territory, Nawáb Zain-ul-abu-d-dín's eldest son, Bákír 'Alí Khán, was retained as farmer of the district under the new administration. He added a new quarter to the town Fatehpur, called after his name Bákír-ganj, and here stands his tomb built about 1815 A. D. with a mosque and other accessories. It is a group of no great architectural merit : but being surrounded by a small flower-garden and occupying a conspicuous position at the junction of four main thoroughfares, it forms the only picturesque feature in a singularly mean and unattractive town.

Since then, no Muhammadan has been in a position to spend any money upon building. But a great number of Hindu temples have arisen, some of which are interesting specimens of modern native architecture, especially two situated in the outskirts of the town of Khajuhá. One of these has a quasi-Muhammadan dome, the other a high spire with clustering spirelets in the old Hindu fashion, and the façade of each is reflected in the water of a large and well-filled masonry tank. Both were built about fifty years ago by rich local traders.

To any one like myself coming from such a thoroughly Muhammadanized district as Bulandshahr, the multitude of Hindu temples all over this part of the country is a very striking novelty in the landscape. For the most part they are small brick buildings with plaster arcading to ornament the walls, and are surmounted by domes more frequently than orthodox Hindu spires. There is considerable monotony in the design ; but seen through the foliage of the mango and *mahua* groves with which the district abounds, they are graceful and picturesque objects, and one or more of them is visible from almost every single point of view in the neighbourhood of a village or along a main thoroughfare. Frequently the shrine is built in connection with a large masonry tank, a great boon to the wayfarer in such a thirsty land. The two temples above-mentioned are on a larger scale than usual, but are typical as regards treatment. In both the general effect is pleasing, and in the domed example the elaborate painted decoration is somewhat exceptionally artistic. In the other temple the details of the spire are clumsy, but considerable taste has been shown in the general grouping.

Fatehpur is invariably described—even in its own Gazetteer—as a district that contains nothing of the slightest archaeological or artistic value. My notes, brief and incomplete as they are, suffice to show that

it has been maligned. In fact I believe there is scarcely a district in India about which such a remark could be made with truth, though it is popularly stated with regard to many. Given a slight faculty of observation, every part of the country will be found to abound with interest, not only as regards relics of the past but also in indications of still existent powers and capabilities.

Two classes of the community are deserving of special notice ; 1st, the Singraurs, for their singularity ; and 2ndly, the Gautam Thákurs, for their number and importance. The Singraurs are not mentioned by name in any book that I have seen ; not even in the local Gazetteer, where the people, who so style themselves, are included under the generic designation of Lodhas. Of this tribe they may be an offshoot, but they differ in many respects from the common stock. They are found only in the Ekdalá, Khágá and Khakhrerú Tahsíls, where they form almost the entire population of several villages and own a considerable quantity of land. As a corruption of the Sanskrit Srингавера, Singraur is the modern name of the Ghát, in the Nawáb-ganj Pargana of the Allahabad district, where (as is told in the Rámáyaṇa) Ráma, Sítá and Lakshman were ferried across the Ganges by the Nishád chief Guha. Not only is there this identity of name, but the tribal designation Lodha (which is for *lubdhika*) is a fair equivalent in meaning to the classical Nishád. Some traditional connection between the people called Singraur and the place Singraur might therefore naturally be expected ; but so far as I could ascertain, none such exists. All the Singraurs of Ekdalá bear the title of Ráwat, which was conferred upon them by the Emperor Akbar, after a visit to that town, in which he was attended by his famous minister, Bírbal, whose mother's sister lived there. All they could tell me as to their origin was that they came, in the time of the Pomárs, from the neighbourhood of Báná, south of the Jamuná ; which is in exactly the opposite direction from the Singraur Ghát, on the Ganges, which is to the north.

According to a very widely accepted tradition, the Gautam Thákurs once owned the whole of the present Fatehpur district, together with much adjoining territory on both sides of the Ganges. They claim descent from the Vedic saint Gotama, who is also the reputed ancestor of the Sakya tribe, of whom sprung the great Buddha ; whence, in many countries where his religion flourishes, he is popularly known by his patronymic, Gautama. The Gautam Rája had his principal seat at Argal, a small secluded village in the Kora Pargana, buried in the ravines of the river Rind. Possibly the old Fort was so named as forming a natural 'bar,' or barrier (which is the meaning of the Sanskrit *argala*) against the approach of an invader. Similarly, Rind or Arind, the name of the

river, is a contraction for Arindama, 'the subduer of enemies,' which would seem to refer not so much to the depth of the stream as to the inaccessibility of its broken banks. The power of the family and the extent of its territory may have been greatly exaggerated, and certainly no external evidence of the truth of the local tradition has yet been supplied either by coins, or copper-plate inscriptions, as for the Gupta and Gaharwár dynasties, nor in temples of well-ascertained Gautam foundation, such as attest the wealth and magnificence of the Chandels. Neither do the Muhammadan chronographers make much mention of the long struggle against the Imperial forces to which the Argal Rája attributes the total disappearance of all his family records. So far also as I am aware, there are no extensive ruins at Argal, such as might be expected at a place which for many centuries was the capital of an independent principality. But on this point I cannot speak from personal knowledge, as I have never visited the spot. Not only is it far off the beaten track, but the Rája dislikes being seen by Europeans, as his personal surroundings are simply those of a small yeoman, and a visit dictated chiefly by curiosity might be regarded as an intrusion. To such extreme indigence is he now reduced, that his eldest son, and consequently the heir to one of the oldest titles in India, is now a Constable in the Hamírpur Police on a salary of Rs. 10 a month, and without much prospect of promotion, on account of his imperfect education. The second son has been given a small scholarship for his support, and is a pupil in the Government school in the town of Fatehpur, but though 15 years of age, he is only in the 9th class ; and thus there is little prospect of any revival of the family fortunes in this generation.

As a set off to the want of material corroboration for the high pretensions of the Argal pedigree, it must be observed that the grants and migrations to which reference is therein made are all accepted as true by cognate tribes in different parts of the Province, who have obviously no interest in maintaining a fictitious legend of Gautam pre-eminence and their own comparative inferiority. It may also be noted that according to a local saying, mentioned by Gen. Cunningham in Vol. XI of the Archæological Survey, there was once a brick temple at every kos along the bank of the Rind. The word 'bank' must of course be interpreted in its very widest sense as including the whole of the valley and its neighbourhood, and the 'kos' as meaning not that the temples were at regular intervals of that distance, but that they were very numerous and close together. The two temples of Bahuá and Tindulí might thus be included in the series, together with those that the General describes in the adjoining Pargana of Sárh Salímpur, and all may with great plausibility be ascribed to the Gautam Rájas, who have always been specially

connected with the Rind river. Unfortunately, there are no inscriptions to confirm this conjecture, but some may yet be discovered. Accordingly, I think it desirable that the whole of the Rája's pedigree, as accepted by himself, should be put on record. The MS. in his possession from which I translate was written out about 60 years ago by one of the Kanungos of the Cawnpur district, which up to 1826 included the present Fatehpur district as a subdivision. It was evidently the work of a very careless or illiterate scribe, and is in several places quite unintelligible both to myself and to members of the family. In the mythological portion some well-known names are so grossly misspelt that they would defy recognition but for the context ; thus Sántá, daughter of Somapád, appears as Santá, daughter of Lomayá ; *p* and *y*, which in Nágari are much alike, having been confused by the copyist. The MS. would seem to have been consulted by Sir H. Elliot, before writing his article on the Gautams in the Supplemental Glossary, and he has extracted from it all the facts of most conspicuous interest. But the complete genealogy, though for many generations it is only a bare string of names, may possibly hereafter be of service in helping to fix a date or determine a person mentioned in some other record.

Pedigree of the Gautam Rájpúts and of Rája Ganpat Sinh, of Argal, written out by Rám Baksh, Kánungo of Sárh Salímpur, according to the order of the Collector of Cawnpur (c 1826 A. D.).

1. Brahma.
2. Angiras.
3. Medhátithi.
4. Gautama.

“He celebrated a sacrifice at the hermitage of the Rishi Gokarna, from which sprung the four Kshatriya clans, the Chauhán, Parihár, Pamár and Sulankhi.”*

5. Satánand.
6. Saradván.
7. Satáník.
8. Vibhándak.

“This was the time of Drona, Kripa and Asvattháma.”

9. Sringi Rishi (Rishya-sringa) “ who married Sántá, daughter of Somapád.”

10. Ingi Rishi : “ married Somantiti, daughter of Ajaypál, the Gahrwár Rája of Kanauj. Her dowry included all the land between Prayág and Hardwár, and from this date the family, who formerly were

* Notes copied from the MS. are marked with inverted commas to distinguish them from additions of my own.

Bráhmans, began to call themselves Kshatriyas." Most other authorities give the limits of the dower as from Kanauj to Korá, which is much more intelligible.

11. Rája Randh Dev.
12. Rája Ang Dev, "built the fort of Argal on the site formerly called Mahákáya."

In proof of the ancient sanctity of the spot, the following verse is quoted, which includes Mahákáya as one of nine famous places of pilgrimage :

Renukah, Súkaraḥ, Káśí, Kálí, Kála, Batesvaraū,
Kálanjara, Mahákáya, Ukhala, nava muktidáḥ.

The same verse is quoted, in a more corrupt form, by Gen. Cunningham in Vol. XVII of the Archæological Survey, and for Mahákáya which, it may be noted, is one of the less common names of Mahádev, he gives Mahákála. This he explains (*ignotum per ignotius*), by Ujam, a place of which I have never heard, unless Ujam is a misprint for Ujain. Ukhala he was told meant simply 'any sacred place' like *tírtha*; but the fact seems questionable. I am more inclined to take it as the proper name of a particular locality, possibly the village on the Jamuná (more commonly spelt Okhla) which has lately become famous as the head of the new Agra canal. Here was a tomb (now pulled down) which bore an inscription dated in the reign of the Emperor Iltitmish (1210-1235 A. D.) which evidences the antiquity of the site. As to the other places ; Renuka is on the Narmada near Jabalpur ; Súkara is Soron in the Eta district ; Kási is of course Benares ; Kálí is perhaps Calcutta ; Kála may be Kaṛra on the Fatehpur border ; Batesar is in Agra, though it does not appear why the name is given in the dual number ; and Kálanjara is the famous fort in Bundelkhand.

13. Rája Balbhadra Dev.
14. Rája Sumán Dev.
15. Rája Srímán Dev.
16. Rája Dhvajamán Dev.
17. Rája Shívmán Dev.
18. Rája Bānsdhar Dev.
19. Rája Brat-dhar Dev.
20. Rája Agníndra Dev.
21. Rája Devant Dev.
22. Rája Susalya Dev "built forts at Silávan and Saun," villages in the Fatehpur district.
23. Rája Mahindra Dev.
24. Rája Jagat Dev.
25. Rája Bhúmipál Dev.

26. Rája Gandhár Dev.
27. Rája Indrajit Dev.
28. Rája Brahm Dev.
29. Rája Chhatradhar Dev.
30. Rája Rám-dev Sáhi.
31. Rája Nirmán Dev.
32. Rája Prithuráj Dev.
33. Rája Tilakdhar Dev.
34. Rája Dhírmán Dev.
35. Rája Satrajít Dev.
36. Rája Bhúpál Dev.
37. Rája Paríchhat Dev.
38. Rája Mahipál Dev.
39. Rája Vishnudhar Dev “built a fort and palace at Naraicha”
near Argal.

40. Rája Khasumán Dev.
41. Rája Surájmán Dev.
42. Rája Mukutmani Dev.

43. Rája Chandramani Dev. The Gautams of the Mirzapur district, who are very numerous there, say that they migrated from Argal in the time of Rája Chandra Sen. This name does not occur in the pedigree, but Chandramani is a near approach to it.

44. Rája Karan Dev.
45. Rája Salya Dev, “fortified Silauli.”
46. Rája Gang Dev. “founded Kunvarpur.”
47. Rája Dhírpunír Dev, “fought many times with Prithiráj and the Muhammadans. His Ráni went to bathe at Prayág : was assaulted by the Súbadár of Azimabad ; Bhau and Bibhau of Múji-pattan, who also had gone there to bathe, came to her rescue and beat off her assailants. In return for this help, Bhupál Siñh, Gautam, of Bhaupur, gave his sister in marriage to Bhau with a dowry of 1400 villages on the other side of the Ganges. Their son* was Tilok Chand, the Ráo of Dauriya Khera. Bhupál Siñh, Gautam, was recognized as Ráo of Gobha, and Pargana Jár was his jágir.” The Ráni’s champions were of the Bais clan, and the villages given in dowry constitute the tract of country known as Baiswára, which includes the greater part of the two Oudh districts of Unao and Ráe Bareli. Mr. Elliot in his ‘Chronicles of Unao’ gives a much more detailed version of the above famous incident, and suggests with great probability that the scene of the attempted rape was not at Allahabad, but at Baksar, another famous bathing-place, much

* ‘Son’ may be used indefinitely ; Mr. Elliot represents him as *seventh* in descent and puts him about the year 1400 A. D.

closer both to Bhaupur and to Dauriya Khera. Munji-pattan is in the Dekhan. The Gautams of Bhaupur are distinguished by the title of Ráwat, and those of Gobha (the next village to Argal) are still styled Ráos. Bhaupur (for Bhava-pur, Bhava being a name of Siva) is on the right bank of the Ganges ; immediately below Sivarájpur.

48. Rája Ratn Sen Dev, “married the sister of Jay Chand, the Gahrwár Rája of Kanauj. Had many fights with the Muhammadans.” This popular identification of the Ráthors with the Gahrwárs is noticeable. It is very uncertain to what clan the earlier Rájas of Kanauj really belonged. The most famous of them was Bhoja I, who reigned from 860 to 890 A. D. and was succeeded by Mahendra Pál, 921 ; Bhoja Deva II, 925 to 950 ; and Vináyak Pál, 950 to 975, all in direct descent of father and son. A period of disturbance then seems to have followed, and eventually Kanauj was conquered about 1025 A. D. by Karṇa, son of Gangaya, the Rája of Chedi near Jabalpur. He, however, was not long after expelled by Chandra Deva, who founded the well-known Ráthor dynasty, which terminated with Jay Chand, the rival of Prithi Ráj. The sequence of events thus stated has been worked out with much ingenuity by Dr. Hoernle, who further conjectures that Chandra Deva’s father, Mahichandra (son of Jasovigraha) is the same as Mahipála of the Pála dynasty of Benares, whose father’s name is given as Vigraha-pála. He was a Buddhist, as his eldest son and his descendants continued to be till their kingdom (Bihár) was subdued by the Muhammadans. The younger son, Chandra Deva, becoming a Brahmanist, established his capital at Kanauj, where he was succeeded by Madan Pál, Gobind Chandra, Bijay Chandra and finally Jay Chand.

49. Rája Kaling Dev, “built the Kora fort.” This was to a great extent rebuilt three generations later by Bijli Khán after becoming a Muhammadan. Nothing now remains of it but the mosque and this too would seem to be of somewhat later date. The site is a high cliff commanding a very extensive view of the Rind ravines. The buildings were dismantled shortly before the mutiny and the materials utilized in the construction of the new Tahsíli.

50. Rája Súlráj Dev. “gave a *jágir* of 62 villages about Sivarájpur to Parmál of Mahoba” after the defeat of the Chandels by Prithiráj. But this seems irreconcilable with the previous statement that No. 47 was a contemporary of Prithiráj’s. This Sivarájpur is a different place from that mentioned above and is in the Cawnpur district.

51. Rája Mulráj Dev, “had two sons, of whom

52. Rája Dev Pál Dev was the elder : the younger Bijay Sinh became a Muhammadan and took the name of Bijli Khán. The Rája gave 12 villages to the Banpur Gautams ; built a fort and tank at Rahnsi ; fought against the Emperor.” Another brother, whose name is variously

given as Bair or Bariar, or Bihál Sinh, also became a Muhammadan and took the name of Bahádur Khán, and built a fort at Garhí Jár, which is still owned by his descendants.

53. Rája Mám Dev “created the Rána of Chilli, with a *jágir* of 60 villages in the neighbourhood of Majháwan” in Pargana Sárh Salímpur.

54. Rája Bhauráj Dev “gave Har Sinh Dev the title of Ráwat with Bhaupur and other 14 villages. Gave Beduki to Kedár, a Kapariyá; Májhilgánw to Nilmani, Kurmi, and Chándpur to Chánd, a Bhát.” Beduki must mean the town of Bindkí, which is now commonly said to derive its name from Bandagí Sháh, a Muhammadan fakir whom Kirat Sinh, one of the Gautam Rájas, had taken under his protection. The Kapariyás are a wandering tribe who go round to houses after a birth, singing congratulatory songs and receiving small presents in return. Kedár, to whom the grant was made, is said to have contrived the escape of one of the Rája’s sons, who was kept as a hostage by the Muhammadans.

55. Rája Sahadev Ráj.

56. Rája Lachhman Dev.

57. Rája Bír Sinh Dev “married a daughter of the Gaharwár of Bijaipur. Fought 22 battles against the Emperor. Gave the Chaudhráhat of Pargana Kora to Jaganbansi Bráhmans; 28 villages and the command of his army to the Athaiya Gautams; 12½ villages including Rámpur to Lála Tandsi Lál, Kámdár; and made a Ráj Kumár of Kharauli with a grant of 4 villages.” The Athaiya Gautams (who evidently derive their name from the 28 (*atháis*) villages that were granted them) are said to have been Jinwars by descent and to have ingratiated themselves with the Rája by teaching him the game of chess.

58. Rája Madan Dev.

59. Rája Mán Dev.

60. Rája Haribaran Dev “fought against the Emperor Humáyún at Kálpi and Hamírpur and was defeated.” This appears to be the turning point in the fortunes of the family, who had espoused the cause of Sher Sháh and were thus marked out for vengeance by Humáyún on his return to India. In the Gazetteer the Rája’s name is incorrectly given as Harcharan.

61. Rája Sangram Dev.

62. Rája Bhairon Sáhi “defeated by the emperor, with total ruin of the family.”

63. Rája Hamír Dev “defeated by Sháhjahán.”

64. Rája Bhagavant Dev “married a daughter of the Sombans Rája of Pratápgarh. The family Fort destroyed by Sháhjahán.”

65. Rája Indrajit Dev.

66. Rája Dúgur Sáh Dev, 1607 A. D.
67. Rája Haribal Dev, 1643 A. D. "defeated by the Súbadár."
68. Rája Himmat Bahádúr Dev, 1646 A. D.
69. Rája Achal Sinh Dev, 1687 A. D. "defeated in 1727 by Saadat Khán. Utter destruction of all the family property."
70. Rája Sadan Sinh Dev 1729 A. D.
71. Rája Amán Sinh, 1755 A. D.
72. Rája Ganpat Sinh, 1817 A. D.
73. Rája Lál Shio Rám Sinh, born 1837 A. D.
74. Kunvar Ratn Sinh.

On the Geography of India in the Reign of Akbar. Part II.—*By JOHN*

BEAMES, B. C. S.

(With a Map.)

No. II. SUBAH BIHAR.

In reconstructing the details of this large and important province very great difficulties have to be encountered. It is not so much that changes have taken place, for that has happened everywhere ; but that for a long time past no record has been kept of such changes, rather there has been at one time an effort to obliterate all traces of them, and at another a policy of deliberately refraining from enquiring into them. The intentional falsification of the fiscal records by the later Muhammadan Subahdars, and the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis have each in its own way done much to efface the former political geography. That so many of the old parganahs are still traceable is due more to the conservative instincts of the people, than to any care that has been bestowed upon the matter by those in authority.

Even in Todar Mal's time parts of Bihár seem to have been somewhat imperfectly known. In the whole of the large Sarkár of Múngír (now generally written Monghyr) the areas of the mahals are wanting, and in some of the other Sarkárs also we find areas omitted here and there. The information regarding the contingents of horse and foot soldiery to be furnished is not given in detail for each mahal, but in most cases only in the lump for each Sarkár, and the castes or tribes of the proprietary families are only mentioned in a few instances. Moreover there are large areas on the map which are not covered by any of the mahals named in the lists, and which we must therefore assume to have been unassessed, and probably uninhabited, in those days.

When we examine the extent and boundaries of the whole province as given in the *Aín* we find nevertheless that they correspond tolerably closely to those of the present day. The length is said to be from Garhi to Rohtás 120 kos. Garhi is the old fort now known as Teliágarhi a little to the west of Sahibganj at the point where the Santhál Hills touch the Ganges. This fort was regarded as the key of Bengal, and the beginning of that province. By Rohtás we must understand, not the historical fortress of that name, but the western boundary of the Sarkár of which it was the capital, for the fortress itself as will be seen from the map lies far to the east of the boundary. Taking Akbar's kos at about $2\frac{1}{2}$ English miles,* the distance would be about 300 miles; but this must have been obtained by measuring along the then existing roads, for the actual distance as the crow flies is only 210 miles.

Similarly the breadth from north to south, which is vaguely described as being from Tirhut to the hill ranges, meaning evidently the northern ranges of the Vindhya, is given as 110 kos = 275 miles. But measuring as the crow flies on the modern map from the northern boundary of Tirhut to the southern boundary of Monghyr,† we find the actual distance not more than 160 miles. It will also be seen further on that some of the mahals included in Sarkár Tirhut are now under Nepal, and that it is impossible to decide how far to the south among the scattered and broken groups of hills which run all through this part of the Subah, Muhammadan power, or at any rate Muhammadan pretensions, extended.

Abul Fazl states the boundaries of the Subah as follows. On the east Subah Bangálah (Bengal), on the west Subahs Iláhábád and Avadh, on the north and south high mountains, meaning of course the Himalayas and Vindhya respectively. These boundaries correspond with tolerable accuracy to the present ones on the east and west, though they can hardly be said to be defined at all on the north and south any more than they are in the present day. On the north disputes with the Nepal State have recurred at intervals down to the present time, and on the south the boundaries between districts in the Bihár Province and those in Chota Nágpur are varied from time to time to suit the exigencies of modern administration. The country is hilly and irregular, and it is difficult to draw a definite line of demarcation between the tracts inhabited by an Aryan population, and those inhabited by Kolarian and Dravidian tribes, such as Santhals, Khonds and Koles. The former only would, it may be supposed, be included in the Subah.

* Elliot. *Races of N. W. P.* vol. ii, p. 194. The exact length is 2 miles 4 furlongs 158 yards.

† I mean the modern districts bearing those names, not the Sarkárs of the *Aín*.

The southern boundary has in fact always been vague and undefined. The Muhammadan forces consisting as they did, chiefly of cavalry, seem to have been very easily beaten back from broken or rocky country, and it will be seen further on how even the insignificant hills which cut in two the southern part of the province impinging on the Ganges at Múngír, remain independent down to a comparatively late period, and how the names of the mahals in Sarkar Bihár and Múngír testify to the scattered nature of Muhammadan power in those parts.

The Ganges, Son, and Gandak are mentioned as the chief rivers of the province, and a petrifying power is ascribed to the waters of the Son. This is true only of certain springs in the upper part of its course. It is also correctly stated that the Son, Narbadda and Jhulá rivers all rise close to each other on the Amarkantak mountain.* But on the whole the geographical details regarding this Subah are decidedly meagre when contrasted with those of Subahs nearer the capital.

Todar Mal's Settlement of A. D. 1582 lasted unaltered only for about a century, a fresh Settlement having been made in the 27th year of Aurangzeb, A. D. 1685—by which the total revenue of the province was raised from fifty-five to eighty-five lakhs. The only territorial change was the division of the old Sarkár of Ruhtás into two ; Ruhtás and Bhojpúr.

This Settlement did not remain in force so long as its predecessor having been superseded in 1750, at a time when the power of the Mughal dynasty had virtually come to an end, by a fresh Settlement the details of which were carried out by Jánaki Rám the Naib-Diwán of Bihár, under the orders of Ali Vardi Khán, Subahdar of Bengal. The revenue was now further raised to ninety-five and a half lakhs. Although the old territorial divisions of Sarkárs and mahals remained nominally unchanged, there were nevertheless in reality very great changes made. It would lead me too far from my present subject to enter into details of these changes, and they could not be understood without reference to official maps which are not available to the public. The object aimed at was the increase of the revenue levied from the people to the highest practicable point, while the increase of revenue payable to the central Government should be as small as possible, so that there might remain

* There is apparently an error in the Persian text of the *Ain* (Vol. I, p. 416) where the Son is said to fall into the Ganges from the north instead of from the south. The text is here, however, corrupt. That the Son is meant seems clear from the mention of Munir as the point of junction. If we can read the doubtful word **نیز** or **دریو** as **سرو** *saryu*, the passage would refer to the Ghográ, which does fall into the Ganges from the north opposite Munir. Possibly the word **نیز** or preceding **نادی** may be for **نای** = **نادی** *nadí* 'river ;' as Abul Fazl sometimes employs Hindí words.

a very great difference between what the Subahdar had to receive from those below him, and what he had to pay to those above him; such difference naturally going into his own pocket. Another object was to carve out for favourites and dependants new estates in various parts of the province without reducing to a corresponding extent the revenue demandable from the landholders whose estates were thus encroached upon and diminished. With this view a village here and a village there, a few bighas in one place and a few more in another, were created into an estate, the grantee of which had to pay a certain revenue, while the persons from whose estates these pilferings had been made still continued to pay their old rent, or at most a rent only slightly reduced.

These tactics were followed by large proprietors in respect of their own estates, and in fact every one who was powerful enough to rob the State or his neighbours, robbed to his heart's content. In addition to this constant spoliation and forcible transfer of estates, there was the unceasing resumption of rent-free tenures, and the creation of all sorts of fresh imposts, under the generic title of *s'áir* or "remainder," and other quaint technical names, mostly in order to provide an income for the various ranks of officials, or to meet some new extravagance of the Subahdar himself. Whosoever wishes to bewilder himself by an examination of this extraordinary complication of revenue matters, may read Mr. J. Grant's Analysis of the Finances of Bengal, and may wonder at, though he will probably not understand, the remarkable skill with which the writer disentangles the web of accounts, and produces as the result the "Jamá tashkhís bandobasti" of A. D. 1765, on which the Permanent Settlement was based. With the Permanent Settlement the curtain falls on the subject; and from that time to the present all is darkness.

I now proceed to the details of this Subah. It contained seven Sarkárs, *viz.* :—

Bihár.	Hájípúr.
Múngír.	Sáran.
Champáran.	Tirhut.
Ruhtás.	

Comprising 199 mahals or parganahs. The total revenue is given in the introductory remarks as dams 22, 19, 19, 404 of which dams 17, 26, 81, 779 are from *nakdí*, and dams 4, 92, 37, 630 *sayúrghál*. These figures, however, do not agree with the result obtained by adding together the revenue of each of the seven Sarkárs as given in the lists which follow the introduction. The total of the figures for the Sarkárs is dams 38, 51, 18, 242.* As regards the area no definite statement can

* See Thomas's Pathan kings of Delhi, p. 388, for a discussion as to the accuracy of Abul Fazl's figures.

be arrived at, for though the total area is given in the introduction as 24,44,120 bigahs, these figures refer only to the measured (*i. e.*, cultivated) area “zamín-i paimúdah” and in the Sarkár lists detailed areas are wanting for all the parganahs of Sarkár Múngír and many of those in the other Sarkárs.

I. SARKÁR BIHÁR.

46 mehals. Area 9,52,598 bigahs. Revenue 8,019,639 dams naķdí under the head of zabti* and naķdi: 2,270,147 sayurghál. Castes various. 2,115 horse 67,350 foot.

1. Arwal.	5,79,089 b. 5 b. 4,26,780 d. 1000 foot.
2. Ukhrí.	49,401 b. 10 b. 3,747,940 d.
3. I'kal.	40,404 b. 4 b. 3,35,260 d. Bráhmans and Afgháns. 200 foot.
4. Amretú.	24,387 b. 19 b. 1,821,333 d. 16,035 s.
5. Amblo.	8,47,920 d. Bráhmans 250 foot.
6. Anchhá.	10,290 b. 7 b. 6,700,000 d. Afgháns. 20 horse. 300 foot.
7. Antarí.	1,998 b. 9 b. 1,47,980 d. Káyaths. 20 horse. 200 foot.
8. Bihár bá havelí.	Has a fort of stone and burnt brick. 70,683 b. 9 b. 5,534,157 d. 6,53,200 s. 10 horse. 400 foot.
9. Bhiláwar.	48,310 b. 3 b. 3,651,640 d. 9000 s. Bráhmans. 500 foot.
10. Biswak.	35,318 b. 18 b. 2,706,539 d. 1,703,130 s. Shaikhzá- dahs. 300 foot.
11. Pilich.	30,030 b. 18 b. 2,270,438 d. 59,185 s. Bráhmans. 500 foot.
12. Baliá.	26,000 b. 18 b. 2,056,502 d. 85,747 s. Rájputs. 20 horse. 400 foot.
13. Patna.	Has two forts, one of burnt, the other of unburnt brick 21,846 b. 8 b. 1,922,430 d. 1,31,807 s.
14. Phulwári.	20,225 b. 19 b. 1,585,420 d. 1,18,120 s. Rájpúts. 20 horse. 700 foot.
15. Pahrá.	12,283 b. 6. b. 941,160 d. 18,560 s. Bráhmans. 20 horse. 400 foot.
16. Bhímpúr.	10,862 b. 15. b. 824,584 d. 24,424 s.
17. Pundág.	727,640 d. Jabardah. 300 horse. 2000 foot.

* “Zebty, resumed lands appropriated in jageer to defray the expenses of the standing military force,” but subsequently “included in the receipts of the royal treasury.” (Grant’s Analysis, p. 255.)

18.	Tiládah.	39,053 b. 12 b. 2,920,366 d. 232,080 s. Shekhzádahs 20 horse. 300 foot.
19.	Jarar.	12,930 b. 10 b. 979,363 d. 880 s. Shekhzádahs. 20 horse. 500 foot.
20.	Chirgánw.	904,440 d. Bráhmans. 20 horse. 300 foot.
21.	Jaychampá.	620,000 d. Jabardah. 20 horse. 600 foot.
22.	Dádar.	262,500 d.
23.	Dhaknair.	215,680 d.
24.	Rúh.	250,100 d. Bráhmans. 20. horse. 1500 foot.
25.	Rámpúr.	363,820 d.
26.	Rájgarh.	3,756 b. 12 b. 288,228 d. 17,225 s.
27.	Sunaut.	36,780 b. 7. h. 28,24,180 d. 20 horse. 500 foot.
28.	Samái.	32,514 b. 3 b. 2,537,080 d. 62,380 s. Káyths. 10 horse. 200 foot.
29.	Sihrah.	20,79,000 d. Rájpúts. 500 feet.
30.	Sándah.	24,962 b. 2 b. 1,889,956 d. Afgháns. 500 foot.
31.	Siyúr.	Stone fort on top of a hill. 14,145 8 b. 1,250,591 d. Bráhmans. 200 horse. 5000 foot.
32.	Ghayáspúr.	84,205 b. 5,657,290 d. 227,554 d.
33.	Gídhaar.	Stone fort on top of a hill in the middle of the jun- gle. 1,452,500 d. Rájpúts. 259 horse. 10,000 foot.
34.	Kátíbhará.	7,37,540 d.
35.	Kábar.	7,400 b. 9 b. 5,60,875 d. Káyaths. 30 horse. 700 foot.
36.	Gúh.	374,880 d. Rájputs. 100 horse. 1000 foot.
37.	Ghátí Bihár.	360,820 d.
38.	Karanpúr.	363,820 d.
39.	Gayá.	951 b. 74,270 d. 14,235 s.
40.	Munír.	89,039 b. 15 b. 7,049,179 d. 325,380 s.
41.	Masaudhá.	67,161 b. 10 b. 4,631,080 d.
42.	Máldah.	28,121 b. 9 b. 2,151,575 d. 49,805 s. Bráhmans. 100 horse. 3000 foot.
43.	Manaurá.	7,706 b. 6 b. 585,500 d. Bráhmans. 20 horse. 500 foot.
44.	Mahair.	23,937 b. 19 b. 1,779,540 d. 47,700 s. Bráhmans. 200 foot.
45.	Narhat.	30,555 b. 7 b. 2,380,309 d. 5 horse. 200 foot.

At the beginning of the list it is stated that there are 46 mahals, but the list itself only contains 45. Either Bihár is to be counted as two mahals, one for the Havelí, and one for the Baldah, or No. 21 Jaychampá must be counted as two, as the modern parganahs of Chai and Champá are distinct from one another, and may have been so in former times.

It is important to observe the situation of the mahals whose area is given as distinguished from those for which only the revenue is stated, as this distinction affords a means of judging how far Muhammadan supremacy really extended. On comparing the list with the map accompanying this article it will be seen that the mahals whose measurement is given are those lying in the great plain of Bihár, while most of those in and between the hills are unmeasured, and there is every reason for believing that they had not at the time of the Settlement been really conquered.

I have succeeded in identifying all but two out of the forty-five mahals of this Sarkár, though some are only conjecturally traceable.

5. Amblo. There is no parganá of this name now extant in either Gya or Patna districts. There is Amlo (now called Amlo Mutia) in Bhágalpúr, but that is separately given under Sarkár Múngír. It is just possible that in the general ignorance that prevailed regarding the outlying parts of of Sarkár Bihár this mahal may have been entered twice over by mistake. It is one of the unmeasured mahals many of which were put down by Todar Mal from hearsay or other vague indications.

16. Bhímpúr is still extant, but it was formerly larger than at present, a new parganah Shahjahánpúr having been carved out of it, the name of which shews that its creation was later than Akbar's days.

17. Pundág is the same as Palámau and roughly indicates a vast tract of country lying south of Sherghatty and only nominally subject to the empire in the time of Akbar as it was not conquered till the reign of Aurangzeb,* though there had probably been occasional raids into various parts of the country before, and the name was therefore known to Todar Mal and inserted in his rent roll with a purely imaginary revenue. The name of the proprietary clan in this and No. 21 is given as جبرد Jabardah in the Persian text ; but this is a copyist's error for چرو cheroh, the Muhammadan way of spelling the name of the well known aboriginal Chero race.†

21. Jaychampa. Properly Chai Champa two contiguous parganahs now in the north of Hazaribagh district, invaded about A. D. 1340 by a general of Muhammad Tughlak.‡ The old fort of Chai is still in existence. These mahals like Pundág were probably only known by hearsay to Todar Mal and not actually subject to the Empire.

23. Dhaknair. Properly spelt Dakhnair, *i. e.*, Dakshinā nagara. Nagara becomes *nayara* in Prákrit, *e. g.*, Bikanír, Bhatnair, etc.

* See a full account by Blochmann in J. A. S. B. Vol. XL, p. 111.

† *ib.* p. 118.

‡ Col. Dalton's note in Hunter's Statistical Account of Hazaribagh, p. 67.

25. Rámpúr. An unmeasured mahal probably the pargana of that name in Hazáribagh, known to, but not possessed, by the Mughals.

26. Rájgarh. The celebrated Buddhist centre Rajgir. Abul Fazl has substituted the familiar termination *garh* for the less common *gir* from Rájagriha the original Sanskrit name.

29. Sihrah. There is now no parganah of this name, the village of Sahra is in the south-east corner of Ghayáspúr.

31. Siyúr. There is no parganah of this name, but the fort of Sior or Siyúr Muhammadabad is well known. It is in parganah Rúh and the mahal dependent on it seems to have been very extensive including not only Pachrukhi but also the great zamindári of Kharakdihá in Hazaribágh.* It is strange that its area should be given, while that of Rúh is not. The measurement, however, can refer only to a very small portion of the whole of this vast territory.

33. Gidhaur. Gṛidhrapúra = vulture-city. This is the capital of the great estate of this name; even in Akbar's time the Rája was one of the great chiefs of Bihár. The mahal included the modern pargana of Chakái and stretched nearly as far as Rohiní.

34. Kátíbhará. I have been unable to identify this place.

37. Ghátí Bihár. This is now called Shahr ghátí (vulgo Sher-gotty) and is a large and well known place at the foot of the gháts or mountain passes leading from the highlands of Chutia Nágpúr to the plain of Bihár.

38. Karanpúr. A large parganah of this name is still extant south of the town of Hazaribágh. It was probably entered on the rent roll by Todar Mal merely on hearsay, the name having become known from the Muhammadan raids on Kokrah and Pundág. It could not have been actually subject to Akbar.

The Sarkár of Bihár thus reconstructed occupies the whole of the modern districts of Patna and Gaya, the western half of the great plain of Magadha. It also includes certain tracts now included in the districts of Hazaribágh and Lohárdagá in the Chutiá Nágpúr country, but as has been shown above, these latter tracts, such as Pundág, Chai-Champá, Karanpur, etc., were rather claimed, than possessed by the sovereign of Delhi, and it is impossible to say how far they extended. In the map which accompanies this article they have not been coloured but merely indicated by a line under the name.

It may be interesting to students of the science of language to notice that the area of this Sarkár corresponds pretty accurately with the area of the modern Magadhí dialect of Bihár as shewn in the map prefixed to Part I of Mr. Grierson's grammars of the Bihári language

* *Ibid.* p. 129.

recently published. In fact the dialectic boundaries throughout this Subah correspond in a remarkable manner with those of the Sarkárs. Thus Sarkárs Ruhtás, Sáran and Champáran speak Bhojpúrí, Sarkár Bihár Magadhí, Sarkárs Tirhut, Hajipúr and Múngír Maithilí.* This coincidence may be merely accidental, and due to the fact that the language boundaries were decided by the same considerations as the administrative boundaries, namely, the leading natural features of the country such as hills, rivers and so on. There are, however, parts where no such natural boundary exists, and in those the coincidence is not easily to be accounted for. The remarkable tongue-like projection of Magadhí south-eastwards beyond Jamui almost as far as Deogaṛh is apparently to be accounted for by the fact that all that country belonged to the Rájas of Gidhaur who on conquering it from the Santhals probably settled it with cultivators from the western parts of their territory who naturally spoke Magadhí.

II. SARKÁR MÚNGÍR.

31 mahals, 109,625,981½ dams. Castes various. 2,150 horse. 50,000 foot.

1. Abhaypúr.	20,00,000 d.
2. Uslá.	89,760 d.
3. Anglo.	147,800 d.
4. Amblo.	50,000 d.
5. Bhágalpur.	46,96,110 d.
6. Baliá.	32,87,320 d.
7. Pharkiyah.	30,00,000 d.
8. Pahárpárah.	140,920 d.
9. Pasaí.	132,300 d.
10. Tanúr.	88,420 d.
11. Chhai.	92,80,000 d.
12. Chanduí.	3,60,000 d.
13. Dharmpúr.	40,00,000 d.
14. Dánd Sukhwáráh.	1,36,000 d.
15. Rohiní.	95,360 d.
16. Sarohí.	17,73,000 d.
17. Sukhdhará.	670,240 d.

* I think, however, that Mr. Grierson has carried northern Maithilí too far to the east in Purniah and the Morang. I was Collector of that district for four years, and my impression is that Maithilí is confined to the parganah of Dharampúr which formed part of Sarkár Múngír. In central and northern Purniah the language is utterly corrupt and too much mixed with Bengalí to be fairly called Maithilí. This, however, will be decided by Part VII of the Series of Grammars.

18.	Singhaulí.	360,000 d.
19.	Súrajgaṛh.	2,99,445 d.
20.	Sikhrá ábádí.	1,60,000 d.
21.	Satiári.	58,730 d.
22.	Kahlgánw.	28,00,000 d.
23.	Kherhi.	689,044 d.
24.	Kojrah.	260,602 d.
25.	Khetki.	160,000 d.
26.	Lakhanpur.	633,280 d.
27.	Masjidpur.	12,59,750 d.
28.	Múngír bá Haveli.	808,907½ d.
29.	Masdí.	29,725 d.
30.	Hindue.	108,300 d.
31.	Hazártakí.	9,182 d.

In this Sarkár it is noticeable in the first place that not a single mahal contains more than a statement of the revenue payable by it. There is no information as to area, ruling castes, or anything else. This is the more remarkable because Todar Mal himself resided for some time at Monghyr, though it is true he was at that time more intent on warlike than on financial pursuits. There is much to shew that all this south-eastern corner of Bihár was very imperfectly known to the Muhammadans, for instance, the important and well known estate of Kharakpúr does not occur as the name of a mahal at all. It is still the largest estate in south Bihár though it has passed away from the ownership of the ancient line of Rájas. Blochmann has discovered from the Akbar-náma that at the time of the conquest of Bengal and Bihár by Akbar Rája Sangram Sahái of Kharakpur was one of the three principal chiefs of the country, and as he submitted to Akbar and with the exception of one or two passing revolts remained on the whole tolerably submissive all that reign one would expect to see his estate figure on Todar Mal's list. The only way to account for the omission is to suppose that Kharakpur itself was not at that time a separate mahal, and as nearly the whole of it consisted of hills either barren or covered with jungle there was probably no assessment, or if brought on the books at all, any assessment there might be would probably be Sayúrghál, and as no Sayúrghál is recorded for this Sarkár, the name of Kharakpúr would not find entry. All or nearly all the other parganas in this vast estate are duly mentioned, *viz.*, Dándá Sukhwára, Hendueh, Hazártaki, Lakhanpur, Masdi, Pahárpárah, Sahrúí, Sukharábádi, Amlo Mutia, Wasila and Kherhi, and it may be supposed that the land on which the fort and town of Kharakpur stood was included in one or other of these parganahs.

Of the mahals entered in the above list all but three are still extant though probably the area of many of them has varied considerably.

2. Uslá is now written Wasílá.
3. Ango, not traceable.
4. Amblo, now called Amlo Mutia far down in the south of the Bhagalpúr district.

8. Pahárpárá. This word is written in the text پهارپارا with a var. lectio پهارپارا I propose to read پهارپارا and to identify the mahal with that now called Parbatpárá, *parbat* and *pahár* meaning the same thing.

10. Tanúr. The record-keeper of the Monghyr Collectorate conjectures that the true reading is تور, there is a mahal of this name Tahaur or rather Tahaurganj in Kharakpúr. This seems a somewhat doubtful identification. There is no place called Tanúr, as far as I can learn.

16. Sarohi now written ساروی Sahroi.

17. Sukhdhará seems to be a mistake for Sukhohará due to the similarity between *s* and *sh*. It was once a separate pargana but is now included in Haveli Monghyr.

21. Satiári now included in Bhágalpur.

25. Khetki not traceable, but is probably intended for Khetauria.

This Sarkár runs far down south-eastwards into the jungly tracts now in the Santhal Parganas and it is impossible to fix any definite boundaries in that direction. Probably the Muhammadans did no more than make occasional raids into this wild and difficult country, and the mahals lying in this direction, such as Hindue (Handoi, Hendueh, etc.), Rohiní and Pasai have therefore been treated in the same way as Pundág and Chai Champá of Sarkár Bihár, and merely underlined.

In the north too the parganas of Pharkiyá and Chhai covered vast areas of sparsely peopled swamps and marshes and it is uncertain how far their boundary could be held to extend on the north. Much of the country included in the modern parganas of Náthpúr, Dhaphar, Náridigar and Nisankhpúr Korá was down to comparatively recent times under the rule of the Nepalese government. None of these names are found in the Aín under Sarkár Múngír, though as will be shewn further on it is possible that some part of this country is included under one or other of the easternmost mahals of Sarkár Tirhut. The large mahal of Dharmpúr now lying east but formerly west of the great Kosi river which has changed its course within recent times,* forms the eastern

* Almost within the memory of living men the Kosi flowed to the north-east of the town of Purniah and its old course may still be clearly traced by a broad and deep depression in the soil running for some fifty miles across the district. Even

frontier of Bihár and its boundary with Sarkar Púrniah of Subah Bengal is distinct and unmistakeable, but how far it went to the north cannot now be said with any certainty.

III. SARKÁR CHAMPÁRAN.

3 mahals.	Area 85,711 b.	5 b.	55,13,420 d.	700 horse.	30,000 foot.
1.	Simráñw.	7,200 b.	2 b.	5,90,095 d.	
2.	Mihsí.	56,095 b.	7 b.	35,18,435 d.	
3.	Majhowa.	22,415 b.	16 b.	14,04,890 d.	

All three mahals are still extant. Simráñw lies partly in British territory and partly in Nepal. The ruins of the old capital of Simráñw (Samara gráma = battle-village) lie among dense jungle just across the Nepal frontier. Mihsí or Mahsi lies to the south of it.

3. Majhowa is a very large parganah in the present day stretching as far as Tribeni Ghat, the point where the Gandak issues from the hills. It was not so large in the time of Akbar, for the great forest of the Champak tree from which the district takes its name (चम्पकारण्य champaká-ranya = Champáran) was not fully conquered and settled by the ancestors of the Mahárája of Bettiah nor was the now flourishing town of Bettiah founded till a much later date. I have shewn on the map only the eastern and southern boundaries of this mahal, it is impossible to say how far it may have extended in a north-westerly direction. It, however, probably touched on Sarkár Gorakhpúr in Subah Avadh just across the Gandak river, much of which especially on its eastern frontier was covered with forests.

IV. SARKÁR HÁJÍPÚR.

11 Mahals.	Ten towns	فَصَدْقَةٌ	436,952 b.	15 b.	2,73,31,030 dams.
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1.	Akbarpur.	3,366 b.	17 b.	1,95,040 d.
2.	Busádí.	10,851 b.	14 b.	6,24,791 d.
3.	Bisárá.	1,06,370 b.	7 b.	63,80,000 d.
4.	Bálágachh.	14,638 b.	2 b.	9,13,660 d.
5.	Patkhará.	58,306 b.	13 b.	35,18,354 d.
6.	Hájípúr Havelí.	62,653 b.	17 b.	38,33,460 d.
7.	Ratí.	30,438 b.	13 b.	18,24,980 d.
8.	Suresá.	1,02,461 b.	8 b.	27,04,300 d.
9.	'Imádpúr.	12,987 b.	7 b.	7,95,870 d.
10.	Kadahsandh.	8,76,200 d.		
11.	Naipúr.	27,877 b.	9 b.	16,63,980 d.

within my own period of service the Kosi has removed many miles to the west of the course shewn on the Atlas of India and other comparatively recent maps; one stage of its frequent changes is marked by the chotá Kosi which still forms the boundary of pargannah Dharampúr.

The whole of the above parganahs are still in existence and clearly identifiable under their ancient names. Even in the cases of Nos. 5 and 10 there is no doubt as to what is meant.

2. Is usually spelt in the present day Bhusadah بُو ساده

3. Bisárá is a very large pargannah, now broken up into Tappas, the names of which are more used than that of the pargannah itself. Its actual situation and extent, however, are well-known.

5. Patkhará پاتکھارا is the reading given in Blochmann's text. He gives, however, in a note a *var. lect.* تیگرہ and this is correct. The old pargannah of Teghará lying along the left bank of the Ganges, in the south-east corner of the Sarkár, is now known as Mulki, but the town of Teghará still retains its old name.

10. Kadahsand. This name is spelt in many ways in various MSS. but there can be no doubt that by it is meant the present pargannah of Gadehsar occupying the north-western point of the Sarkár.

This Sarkár is a long and rather narrow strip comprising the tract between the Burh Gandak river on the north-east, and the Gandak and Ganges on the south-west and south. North of the Burh Gandak lies Sarkár Tirhut, though in later times that name was applied to a much larger area.

V. SARKÁR SÁRAN.

17 mahals. Measured area 229,052 b. 15 b. 60,172,004½ d. Castes various. 1000 horse. 50,000 foot.

1. Andar.	7,218 b. 4 b.	5,34,990 d.
2. Baráí.	7,117 b. 10 b.	5,33,820 d.
3. Bál.	66,320 b. 5 b.	48,93,378 d.
4. Bárá.	15,059 b. 3 b.	383,797½ d.
5. Narhan.	8,611 b. 8 b.	6,54,508 d.
6. Pachlakh.	9,266 b. 15 b.	4,87,997 d.
7. Chirend.	8,413 b. 13 b.	6,33,270 d.
8. Chaubárá.		4,00,000 d.
9. Júínah.	6,763 b. 8 b.	3,09,282 d.
10. Dígsí.	5,825 b.	2,77,630 d.
11. Sipáh.	2,662 b.	2,90,592 d.
12. Goá.	28,049 b. 3 b.	20,12,950 d.
13. Kalyánpúr.	17,437 b.	7,74,496 d.
14. Kashmír.	16,915 b.	13,14,539 d.
15. Mángjhi.	8,752 b. 19 b.	6,11,813 d.
16. Mandhal.	9,405 b. 7 b.	6,97,140 d.
17. Makír.	10,936 b. 14 b.	8,11,095 d.

This Sarkár like that of Champáran has no Havelí ; but it is well preserved. In the present day sixteen out of Todar Mal's seventeen mahals are in existence, though some of the modern names differ slightly from those in the Aín.

5. Narhan is entered here though not its proper place in alphabetical order, because it is by mistake written Barhan in the Aín. There is, however, no doubt that Narhan is meant.

7. Chirend now called Chiránd.

9. Júinah. There is no parganah of this name. I suspect the real reading is Chausah (**خواص** for **جوبن**), which, according to Grant who calls it "Choseh," was transferred to Sarkár Gorakhpúr at some time between 1750 and 1765 A. D.

10. Digsí is for Dhangsí, a mistake of dots only.

14. Kashmír is now called, and has apparently been always called Kasmar ; the substitution of the better known name of the mountain kingdom which Akbar was then in process of absorbing into the Empire is a characteristic touch of the politics of the time.

15. Mángjhí, now, and probably always, Mánjhí. It is difficult to account by any phonetic process for the presence of the **چ**.

16. Mandhal now Marhal which is the same word under a slightly different pronunciation (**मंडल** or **मढल**).

VI. SARKÁR TIRHUT.

74 mahals. Measured area 2,66,464 b. 3 b. 1,91,89,777½ dáms.

Castes various. 700 horse. 80,000 foot.

1. Ahispúr.	4,880 b.	3,02,550 d.
2. Utarkhand.	2,068 b.	1,28,412 d.
3. Ahilwár.	1,001 b. 1 b.	62,212 d.
4. Ubhí.	60,000 d.	
5. Ughará.	836 b. 15 b.	53,980 d.
6. Atháís.	559 b. 17 b.	34,356 d.
7. to 10. Basrí and others.	4 mahals	11,25,000 d.
11. Bharwárah.	16,176 b.	9,42,000 d.
12. Nánpúr.	40,347 b.	8,94,792 d.
13. Barel.	6,185 b.	7,89,858 d.
14. Píprá.	1,823 b. 18 b.	1,12,591 d.
15. Padri.	9,048 b.	5,54,258 d.
16. Basotrá.	8,864 b.	5,46,627 d.
17. Pachhí.	5,816 b.	3,61,960 d.
18. Bahnur.	5,033 b.	2,897,773½ d.
19. Bachhnur.	4,956 b.	275,185 d.

20.	Pachhim Bhigo.	4,095 b.	271,826 d.
21.	Bagdá.	3,716 b.	267,862½ d.
22.	Púrab Bhigo.	3,022 b. 17 b.	2,22,280 d.
23.	Pandrájah.	3,135 b. 4 b.	195,837½ d.
24.	Bádí Bhúsádí.	2,823 b.	1,75,585 d.
25.	Bhálá.	2,840 b.	1,25,437 d.
26.	Bhadwár.	2,087 b.	130,471½ d.
27.	Parihárpúr.	1,968 b.	121,067½ d.
28.	Bahádurpúr.	1,936 b. 12 b.	119,305 d.
29.	Baraí.	1,455 b. 12 b.	90,369½ d.
30.	Parihár Rágho.	1,303 b. 17 b.	81,605 d.
31.	Bhaurá.	1,170 b. 9 b.	69,608 d.
32.	Pulwárah	1,060 b. 4 b.	65,627 d.
33.	Búrá.	875 b. 15 b.	55,757 d.
34.	Banwá.		40,539 d.
35.	Parihárpúr Jabdí.	6,040 b. 14 b.	37,736 d.
36.	Pengí.	505 b. 5 b.	31,550 d.
37.	Búchháwár.	188 b. 10 b.	12,875 d.
38.	Barsání.	200 b. 18 b.	12,695 d.
39.	Tarání.	7,171 b.	443,242 d.
40.	Tilok Cháwand.	2,211 b. 7 b.	149,896 d.
41.	Tájpúr.	1,351 b. 14 b.	85,434 d.
42.	Tándah.	1,038 b. 4 b.	63,768 d.
43.	Tarson.	980 b. 4 b.	61,180 d.
44.	Tirhnt Haveli.	21,397 b.	1,307,706 d.
45.	Jákhar.	17,140 b.	1,068,020 d.
46.	Jaráíl.	8,297 b.	515,732 d.
47.	Chakmaní.	5,173 b.	321,326 d.
48.	Jakhalpúr.	3,092 b.	196,020 d.
49.	Jabdí.		54,025 d.
50.	Dharaur.	3,165 b.	159,052 d.
51.	Darbhanga.	2,038 b.	202,818 d.
52.	Rám Cháwand.	7,409 b.	470,005½ d.
53.	Sareshtá.	15,474 b.	941,010 d.
54.	Salímpúr.	458 b. 14 b.	29,094 d.
55.	Salimábad.	44 b. 15 b.	4,184 d.
56.	Sanjaulí Tadrá.	2,450 b.	150,843½ d.
57.	'Alápúr.	8,796 b.	442,466 d.
58.	Fakírábád.	1,170 b. 6 b.	72,355 d.
59.	Kahnaulí.	4,644 b.	408,804 d.
60.	Garh Cháwand.	5,510 b.	349,480½ d.
61.	Kodá Khand.	3,888 b.	243,677 d.

62.	Korádí.		9,000 d.
63.	Khandá.	330 b. 6 b.	21,443 d.
64.	Ladwári.	2,609 b.	142,495 d.
65.	Mahilá.	15,295 b.	942,048 d.
66.	Morwah.	8,289 b.	515,485 d.
67.	Mahend.	1,077 b. 12 b.	66,693 d.
68.	Narangá.	632 b. 18 b.	39,022 d.
69.	Malhní.	151 b. 1 b.	9,728 d.
70.	Noram.		288,140 d.
71.	Nautan.	3,381 b. 7. b.	209,153 d.
72.	Háthí.	2,563 b. 18 b.	159,790 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
73.	Hirní.	796 b. 17 b.	50,342 d.
74.	Háví.	3,665 b. 8 b.	230,700 d.

It would be a mistake to infer from the very great number of parganahs it contains that this Sarkár is larger than the others in this Subah. In fact it covers less area than Sarkárs Bihár or Múngír ; the parganahs of which it is composed are in many instances very small, so small that they can hardly be shown on a map of moderate dimensions. I have had to indicate some of them by numbers. The Sarkár is one of the most difficult to reconstruct of any outside Bengal, many changes have taken place both in the names and arrangement of the parganahs and there are large areas absolutely unaccounted for. In dealing with tracts lying north of the Ganges we have always to take into consideration the fact that the extent of the *taráí* or submontane forest varies at different points in the most capricious manner, in some places stretching far down to the south and being apparently omitted from Akbar's census, while at others parganahs are mentioned which lie close up under the hills and are now included in Nepal. Of the 74 mahals comprised in this Sarkár some are not to be found at all in the present day, while on the other hand there are several modern parganahs, some of them very large, which are not mentioned in the Aín. It is probable, in fact almost certain, that the older and now untraceable mahals are represented by these modern parganahs, but which modern name corresponds to which ancient name is a mystery I have not been able to solve either by enquiry on the spot or by any other means. During the greater part of the period lying between our own day and Akbar's, Tirhut has been under the rule of the great house of Darbhanga, and it was probably by the successive Rájas that the changes were made which appear to have obliterated so many of the old fiscal divisions. I am, however, informed by good authority that even the Kánúngo's papers do not contain any record of these changes. It seems therefore hopeless to attempt any

further elucidation. Such facts, and more or less probable conjectures, as I have been able to arrive at are included in the following notes. The mahals not mentioned are still extant under their old names, though it is of course quite uncertain whether their present area is the same as their former; in all probability, it is not.

4. *Ubhí.* No parganah of this name. The most probable conjecture, though it is no more than that, is that for اوبيٰ we should read اوڻهيٰ *Oṭhi.* This is said to have been the local name for the country lying on the extreme east of the Sarkár, north of the two vast and undefined parganahs of Pharkiya and Chhai of Sarkár Múngír; and now included in parganah Nisankhpúr Kora. The tradition is however a very vague one.

6. *Aṭháis.* Not found, and probably now known by some other name.

7 to 10. *Basrí wa ghairah.* Not found. I hazard the suggestion that we have under this name the present parganah of Nári dígar on the north-east frontier of the Sarkár جرمي may be a copyist's error for جاري and the Persian *dígar* is a commonly used equivalent for the Arabic *ghair.* This parganah is not otherwise traceable; but I do not attach much importance to the suggestion.

14. *Piprá* is a copyist's error for *Babrá.*

18. *Bahnúr.* There are several parganahs the names of which closely resemble each other, especially when written in Persian, such as *Bahnúr*, *Bhanwar*, *Bhaur*, *Bhúrá*, all of which would be written بہنور or بہر and in the Shikastah or even in the Naskh-ta'lík hand would easily be confounded. It appears that owing to this cause the names have been entered more than once, as *all* the mahals so named cannot be traced.

32. *Pulwárá* not found.

33. See remark on No. 18 above.

37. *Búchháwar* now *Bachaur.*

38. *Barsání*, properly *Parsání.* It is not now a parganah but merely a village in *Babrá*, the residence of the *Rájás* of Turki.

42. *Tándah*, not found.

44. *Tirhut Haveli.* This is the strangest entry of all. There is now no parganah called *Tirhut*, and there seems good reason for believing that there never was one so called. *Tirhut* (Sansk. *Tírabhukti*) is the old name of the whole stretch of country from the *Gandak* to the *Kosi*, there is no evidence to shew that the name was ever restricted to a single mahal. Nor is there locally any tradition of there ever having been a *Haveli* *Tirhut*. The only two *Havelis* in the modern *Tirhut* region are those of *Darbhanga* and *Hájipore*. The latter is as we have seen duly recognized in the *Aín*, the former, however, appears merely as

a mahal without the addition of Haveli. It could only have acquired this title after the Rájás had moved their residence to that place from Bhawárá, an event which did not happen till 1762.

Although, however, there is not, and probably never was, a mahal called Tirhut, there is a very large parganah named Tirsáth ترسات, which occupies the centre of western Tirhut, just as Darbhanga does that of eastern. It seems more than probable that Todar Mal or his informant was misled by the similarity between the two words and wrote ترہت ترسات. The point is, however, an obscure one.

53. Sáreshtá not found. Possibly a copyist's error, by which mahal Suresa of Sarkár Hajipúr has been repeated. Or it may be that a portion of that mahal was included in Sarkár Tirhut. There is a large tract of country opposite to Suresa on the Tirhut side of the Burh Gandak unaccounted for. It now bears the name of Kasmí, but this name does not occur in the Aín.

55. Salímabád. This very small mahal containing only one village is included in parganah Háví.

56. Sanjauli Tadra, not found.

58. Fakírbád, this is now written Fakhrábád فخراباد.

61. Kodá Khand. There is no parganah of this name, but I suspect that parganah Kab Khand is meant. The tract included in this parganah is surrounded on all sides by mahals of the Aín and it must therefore have been inhabited and assessed. The origin of the name is unknown to me, but if Kab = Kavi 'poet' it may have been equally correctly written Kav which would account for a spelling کووا changed by a copyist's error into کودا.

62. Korádí, an unmeasured mahal and probably not actually in the possession of the Muhammadans as it lies far to the north reaching to the base of the Himalayas and is now in Nepalese territory. I have merely underlined the name in the map as in the case of Pundág and other outlying regions in Sarkár Bihár. The ancient city of Janakpur, the capital of Mithila, is in this parganah.

70. Noram. There is no mahal of this name. It is evidently a copyist's error for Loánw (نورم) for لیانہ and لیانہ being equivalent. The origin of the name is not known to me, but it seems to point back to Lokagráma, Lohagráma or some such name. If it were not almost too far to the east to come within the area of the Ráma and Sítá legend I should think of Lavagráma from the name of Rám's son.

VII. SARKÁR RUHTÁS.

18 mahals. 473,340 b. 15 b. 40,819,493 d. Castes various. 4,550 horse. 162,000 foot.

1. Alrah.	53,516 b. 16 b.	30,281,000 d.
2. Bhojpúr.	66,078 b. 17 b.	4,903,310 d.
3. Píro.		3,407,840 d.
4. Panwár.	22,733 b. 3 b.	1,677,000 d.
5. Bargánw.	10,540 b. 17 b.	842,400 d.
6. Jaund.	45,251 b. 3 b.	4,440,360 d.
7. Jídar.	26,538 b. 16 b.	1,634,110 d.
8. Danwár.	29,154 b. 4 b.	6,076,520 d.
9. Dínár.		350,000 d.
10. Ruhtás Haveli.	34,330 b. 19 b.	2,258,620 d.
11. Ratanpúr. Has a strong fort.		783,425 d.
12. Sirsí.	44,710 b. 3 b.	2,769,466 d.
13. Sahasránw.	31,220 b. 18 b.	2,370,790 d.
14. Fathpúr Bihíá.	50,474 b. 15 b.	3,736,040 d.
15. Kotrá.	29,168 b. 15 b.	18,293,200 d.
16. Kot. Has a stone fort.		847,920 d.
17. Mangror.		924,000 d.
18. Nannor.	26,921 b.	2,000,000 d.

This Sarkár is in the main conterminous with the modern district of Shahábád being bounded on the north by the Ganges, on the east by the Son, on the west by the ill-omened Karamnásá and on the south by the Kaimúr range, though in this direction it is impossible to say exactly how far it may have been held to extend in Akbar's time. The hold of the Muhammadans on this district must have been at all times somewhat precarious owing to the turbulence and independence of the Rájás of Bhojpúr. Dalpat Singh the Rájá in Akbar's days appears to have spent his time alternately in durance and in rebellion. A great deal of this Sarkár was doubtless in the words of Mr. Sarristahdár Grant "unsubdued" and probably unexplored as held by independant or refractory zamin-dárs, though valued by information and entered on the public records of the exchequer."*

In the settlement made under Aurangzeb in A. D. 1685 it was broken up, as stated above, into two Sarkárs of which Rohtás contained 7 and the new Sarkár of Bhojpúr, or Shahábád (a name which apparently occurs for the first time at this period) contained 11.

* Grant's Analysis. Fifth Report, p. 508.

Though in general comprised within the boundaries above mentioned the territory of this Sarkár breaks out in a curious way at one or two points. Mahal Fathpúr Bihiá includes the Doábá or tongue of land between the Ganges and Ghogra rivers which should geographically belong to Sarkár Gházipúr of Subah Ilahábád; but on the other hand mahal Chaunsá which from its position should form a portion of this Sarkár is given to Gházípúr.* In the present day this irregularity has been rectified, Chaunsá now belongs to Shahábád, and the Doábá to Gházípúr or strictly speaking to the recently formed district of Baliá in the North West Provinces.

Again in the south-east the parganas of Síris and Kutumba which should by their position on the right bank of the Son, belong to Sarkár Bihár are attached to this Sarkár. Probably as lying within sight of the lofty fortified plateau of Rohtás they were more easily managed from there, than from the distant town of Bihár. (See No. 7 below.)

In the south-west also the parganah of Mangror lies beyond, that is, to the west of the Karamnásá and should belong to Gházípúr. It is now included in the district of Mirzapúr in the N. W. Provinces.

There is not much difficulty in reconstructing this Sarkár.

1. Álräh is evidently a mistake of the copyist for Árah or Arrah the present capital of the district.

5. Bargánw, a copyist's error for Bárahgánw, a still extant parganah at the extreme north-east corner of the Sarkár comprising most of the alluvial formations and islands at the junction of the Ganges and Son rivers.

6. Jaund. Should be Chaund. In the present day the name is usually written Chánd, and the area of this parganah is included in the modern one of Chainpúr. The name Chaund is identical with Cháwand borne by several mahals in Sarkár Tirhut and is derived from Chámundá चामुण्डा, a name of Durgá, who according to a local legend destroyed a demon at this place.

7. Jídar. Should be Haidar (هیدر), and probably indicates the country on the right bank of the Son opposite Rohtás. There is a large fort called Haidargarh still extant in that region. It is now in parganah Jhapla. This parganah, together with Bilaunjah to the south-west, was assigned by Sháh Jahán along with Siris, and several others, for the maintenance of the garrison of Rohtás, and down to the time of British rule was included in that Sarkár.

11. Ratanpúr, this mahal together with Kot (No. 16) and Mangror (No. 17) comprised the district of Bijaygarh which passed into the possession of the Maharaja of Benares prior to British rule. We may

* See Elliot's *Races of N. W. P.* vol. ii, p. 115.

probably therefore identify the “strong fort” mentioned in the Aín, with the well known hill-fort of Bijaygaṛh on a high plateau overlooking the Son. No place or tract bearing the name of Ratanpúr seems to exist in the present day.

12. Sírsí, now called Síris, a parganah in the Gya district on the right bank of the Son. It appears to have included also the modern parganah of Kutumbá which in Grant’s Analysis is coupled with Siris in one zamindari, and included in Sarkár Rohtás.*

13. Sahasránw, now vulgo Sasseram, the home and burial-place of Sher Sháh, and his son.

15. Koṭrá appears to be the parganah now called Rámgaṛh, the village of Koṭrá is still extant in that parganah.

16. Kot. See remarks on No. 11. The fort of Kot appears to be that called Naugarh.

17. Mangror, now in the Mirzapúr district. I have treated this mahal together with Kot and Ratanpúr as being beyond the actual limit of Muhammadan possessions and have indicated them in the map by a coloured line under the name.

In conclusion, it will be seen that the reconstruction of this Subah is far from being complete. Here, as in the case of Subah Avadh, I would express a hope that persons living on the spot may be able to clear up some, if not all, of the doubtful points, by local enquiry.

* Fifth report, p. 515.

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From a Photograph by A. Baldwin.

TEMPLE AT TINDULI, FATEHPUR DISTRICT, N. W. P.





